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Canadian Short Adventure Fiction in Periodicals for Adolescents: Canada, England, the United States, 1847-1914

by

Jean Stringam ©

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Department of English

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Abstract

A vast quantity of virtually unknown Canadian-content primary material exists in the nineteenth-century young adult periodicals of Britain, the United States, and Canada. This thesis is an analysis of short adventure fiction from eight periodicals published for youths from their beginning date through to the outbreak of World War I, which vastly altered the material, social, and aesthetic climate in all three countries. The mid-nineteenth-century Canadian periodical *The Snow Drop* is used as a contextual basis for the examination of the later magazines published from 1870 to 1914 in England and the U.S. The American magazines discussed are *St. Nicholas*, *Harper's Young People*, *Golden Days for Boys and Girls*, and *The Youth's Companion*; the British magazines are *Boy's Own Paper*, *Young England*, and *The Captain*.

The short-fiction adventure tale monopolises the Canadian content of these periodicals, and even genres traditionally considered antithetical to the nature and structure of adventure, such as domestic fiction or the school story, are often co-opted into a variant. Writers were fascinated with the adventures of youths in the forests, on the seas and prairies, hunting wild animals, or struggling against the weather and terrain of this huge country. Adventures involving historical events, the world of work and toil, and encounters with people of various ethnic origins were a constant subject.

This thesis includes discussions of colonial issues, the analysis of class, race, and gender constructs, and an investigation of the concept of manliness and the Imperial boy-hero. As well, it locates the tales within the social and historical matrix of Canada and her powerful neighbours.

I Dedicate This Thesis to My Family:

Bryce & Mary Stringam,

Sarah & Julian Mogzec,

Benjamin & Suzanne Oswald,

Hannah, Laura & Jessica Beesley,

With gratitude for their love and support.

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Introduction:

Canadian Young Adult Tales of the Nineteenth Century

When a discussion of nineteenth-century Canadian young adult literature occurs, the most frequent response, even by educated persons, is still the surprised "Was there any?" For decades the pattern has been to dismiss the children's literature of this era as "not very much and not very good," and the young adult literature as non-existent. But such an attitude ignores the periodical literature of the day, tailored expressly for an audience of young adult readers. With few exceptions, the heroes and heroines of the tales in both the U.S. and the British publications are unmarried young people aged approximately twelve to twenty, age being one of the important descriptors of young adult literature.

When adults do figure in the tales they are not usually the focus for the action: they are neither the heroes nor the adventurers. Instead, the action centres on the young adults' perception of the world, their struggles with the environment, their relationships, and their understanding of cultural codes, both those unspoken and those rigorously promoted by adult society. In adult literature youths are frequently members of the colonised Other, but in young adult literature youths are young empire-builders. They are versions of adult colonisers who attempt to establish imperial domination amidst colonists more vulnerable than they—animals. The language of Empire tells youths they have a moral responsibility to lead groups with less power or agency than that which is rightfully administered by themselves as young Anglo-Saxon representatives of the dominant culture.

I intend to examine the Canadian content of seven nineteenth-century periodicals for young adults: *St. Nicholas* (U.S. 1870), *The Boy's Own Paper* (Britain 1879), *Harper's Young People* (U.S. 1879), *Golden Days for Boys and Girls* (U.S. 1880), *Young England* (Britain 1881), *The Youth's Companion* (U.S. 1882), and *The Captain* (Britain 1899). The bibliographic work upon which I base this study was undertaken by R. Gordon Moyles and published by *Canadian Children's Literature* in 1995. While Moyles' gleanings include fiction of all lengths, non-fiction, and poetry, I will focus on short fiction. His index for each periodical begins with the volume which contains the first known example of Canadian content. Consequently, I will limit my discussion to the period extending from this beginning date until 1914 when the First World War vastly altered the material, social, and aesthetic climate in all three countries. These end-of-the-century texts will necessarily be situated against a mid-century publication, Canada's own first children's magazine, *The Snow Drop; or Juvenile Magazine*, which began circulation April 1847 in Montreal and lasted until June 1853. A second Canadian-born children's periodical, *Maple Leaf*, lived briefly from 1853 to 1855 but since it contains primarily instalments of novels or novelettes, it will be mentioned only in passing.

This study will demonstrate that a substantial amount of young adult short fiction about Canada and Canadians was produced from 1870 onward by authors, both celebrated and obscure, from Canada, the United States, and Great Britain. They published their adventure tales in widely read periodicals for young adults in the United States and Britain only, since the few magazines for children and young adults published in Canada at the time were associated with individual churches and other local groups, and had a very limited readership. The authors created and consolidated a rich colonial young adult literature, much of it steeped in the romantic tradition, much of it structured on realist principles, and nearly all of it based on the conventions of the adventure genre in plot structure, theme, and characterisation. They were writers who attempted to distil into a few decades what the United States took nearly a hundred years to do and what the British had taken over two centuries to accomplish.

The periodicals differed in the kinds of tales they printed, yet all were intended to appeal to the children of a growing group of literate and skilled tradesmen, professionals, and businessmen in North America who valued the arts and education. The British periodicals were designed to appeal to various classes as well, ranging from the upper working classes, through middle classes, to certain levels of the aristocracy.

For many decades, research in these periodicals was difficult and expensive because few libraries had complete runs, and also because the pages of the originals were becoming old and soiled, brittle, and difficult to read. Recently, however, research on American children's periodicals has been expedited by the transfer of many holdings to microfiche or microfilm for distribution to libraries. *St. Nicholas* has been microfilmed by the University Microfilms of Ann Arbor, Michigan, in the American Periodical Series (APS III), but only to 1907, although the magazine continued publication until 1943. Similarly, *The Youth's Companion* has been microfilmed in its entirety by the same company in Series II. A complete microfilm run for *Golden Days for Boys and Girls* exists courtesy of Greenwood Press, Westport, Connecticut, who also completed the filming of *Harper's Young People*.

To date, none of the British periodicals has been filmed. The British Library has a complete run of *Young England* and *Boy's Own Paper*, but not *The Captain*. Partial runs of these three periodicals are scattered among various libraries in both Britain and North America.

Some may question why so much of the literature in the four American and three British periodicals focuses on male-dominated issues and activities. Essentially, that is one of the characteristic inequities of the nineteenth century: literature for boys became a central production in the juvenile publishing industry especially in Britain, and to a lesser extent in the U.S. Consistent with this pattern, a very high percentage of the Canadian short fiction also featured adventure stories with boys and young men appearing as the protagonists, a well established convention of authors on both sides of the Atlantic. But the exceptions were remarkable, as we shall see.

Most of the Canadian authors were male and most had to earn their livings by selling Canadian adventure to foreign publishers. Such well known authors of adult literature as Charles G.D. Roberts, Ernest Thompson Seton, and Norman Duncan have stories printed in the seven U.S. and British periodicals. Many Canadian authors had to leave their sparsely populated homeland in order to have their work published, since the publishing trade in Canada was undeveloped and limited to satisfying the reading preferences of a very small group. Unfortunately, the brain drain to Britain was already a well established cultural hazard, and that to the United States was escalating.

Few female Canadian authors published in these periodicals: Lucy Maud Montgomery, novelist, contributed poetry primarily, with only one domestic short story to her credit; Sara Jeannette Duncan, journalist, wrote several sketches of India; and Ethelwyn Wetherald, poet, wrote only one piece of domestic fiction amidst her delightful verses usually tailored for very young readers. While several British female writers of girls' adventure fiction who used Canadian settings on occasion, such as Bessie Marchant, became popular book authors toward the turn of the century, girls were never featured in the short adventure tales of the three British periodicals. Girls were more frequently included in the short fiction of the four American periodicals under study here. Roughly half the authors of American tales were female and domestic themes were extremely common. In contrast, the tales about Canada and Canadians consistently featured adventure stories by male authors.

To my knowledge there is no other criticism available which examines these periodicals specifically for their Canadian content. It is essential that this gap be filled. This dissertation will identify groupings of the tales as examples of the multivariate genre of adventure fiction and will examine representative selections of each sub-genre in their social and historical contexts.

Chapter I

Young Adult Literature

Some critics claim that Young Adult literature has been a post-modernist effort with less than a quarter century of history; others believe it to be a post-World War II phenomenon. The opening sentence of Caroline Hunt's essay "Young Adult Literature Evades the Theorists," for example, begins "Adolescent literature has been 'coming of age' for over a quarter of a century if you count from *The Pigman* and *The Outsiders*, more than half a century if you count from *Seventeenth Summer*" (4). Further on she comments, "But no one, as far as I know, seriously suggests that young adult literature as a separate category begins before World War II (*Seventeenth Summer*) or, alternatively, the late 1960s (*The Outsiders*)" (5). Similarly, the first two sentences of Jean E. Brown and Elaine C. Stephens' book, *Teaching Young Adult Literature* (1995), speak to the newness of the field and use the "coming of age" metaphor: "The field of young adult literature is unique because its significant evolution has occurred within the past two generations. Its growth in popularity with young people, its increase in acceptability with teachers, and its improvement in quality are indicative of the genre's coming of age" (4). Over and over again critics such as Richard Ammon announce that "young adult literature is a relatively recent phenomenon" (61). The periodical literature of the nineteenth century belies these assertions.

The age of the leading characters in young adult literature generally parallels the expected age of the reader, approximately twelve to twenty. The American periodical, *Harper's Round Table*, identified its intended readership as age ten to fifteen years, *St.*

Nicholas as ten to eighteen, and *Golden Days* as age ten to sixteen. With little exception the age of the hero or heroine indicates the approximate expected age level of the reader, and the heroes of a typical *Youth's Companion* tale are generally teenagers. In some stories the heroes are in their early twenties, but heroes aged a year or two older than the expected reader add a few years' lee-way in subscription age so that young readers can admire the adventures of these slightly older role models, or comrades-in-print, a little longer. Adult characters usually occupy the roles of instructor, teacher, mentor, or companion of a younger apprentice who is learning some art, trade, or skill.

R. Gordon Kelly suggests that the subtitle for *The Youth's Companion*, which reads, "The Companion for All the Family," must not be mistaken for a literal description of intended audience, but is, instead, a marketing ploy to increase the number of readers buying subscriptions (Children's 511). Kelly's earlier book, *Mother Was a Lady: Self and Society in Selected American Children's Periodicals: 1865-1890* (1974), forms one of the first critical ventures in the area, and his *Children's Periodicals of the United States* (1984) remains authoritative.

The publishers of *The Boy's Own Paper*, three years in advance of *The Youth's Companion*, used the same intergenerational marketing device—a formula which would attract adults as well as youths, thus creating a cultural icon and a more secure subscription base in one swoop. As Philip Warner puts it in *The Best of British Pluck* (1976), speaking of *The Boy's Own Paper*, "What no one seems to have remarked was that during the first thirty years of its life the *B.O.P* was genuinely a paper for boys of all ages, even very old ones. There is nothing juvenile about it. Many of the early articles could easily have appeared in adult magazines" (7). His suggestion that the slant of the young adult fiction tends toward adult-style entertainment rather than mimicking the plots and patterns of children's stories no doubt comes as a result of their reliance on the formulae of adventure fiction, so very popular with the adult reader of the time. Throw out the chronometer! In this case the audience was the young at heart.

The most inclusive definition of either children's literature or young adult literature is whatever the child or the young adult chooses to read. More precisely, childhood in the nineteenth century ended at puberty as it does now, so that children's literature is geared towards children from birth to about age twelve. Young adulthood traditionally consists of those years from pubescence through the teens, and some would add the caveat that it actually continues on until the young person signifies maturity by either marrying or entering the adult work force. In *Literature for Today's Young Adults* (1993), Nilsen and Donelson define young adult literature loosely, but practically, as "anything that readers between the approximate ages of 12 and 20 choose to read" (6). For the purposes of this dissertation, then, twelve to twenty will be the accepted age parameters of the young adult reading audience.

Nineteenth-century Young Adult Periodicals

The Snow Drop (1847-1853):

The Snow Drop; or Juvenile Magazine marks the beginning of periodical publication for young people in Canada. Volume I and II were published in twelve monthly issues beginning in April of each year, but in 1849 Volume III ended with the December volume after nine issues. Volume IV, begun in April 1850 ended after three issues in June. *The Snow Drop* then began a New Series of twelve issues beginning with

Volume I in July of 1850 and ending in June of 1851. Volume II New Series consisted of six issues from July to December of 1851, Volume III New Series ran January to June of 1852, Volume IV New Series was published from July to December of 1852, and finally Volume V New Series ran from January to June of 1853. In contemporary terms, parts of seven years are actually quite a substantial period for a magazine to survive. Robert W. Lay, also of Montreal and the editor of *The Maple Leaf* (1852-1854), another periodical for juveniles, took over the subscriptions list for *The Snow Drop*, but it survived only parts of three years. Primarily it circulated reprints of serialised novels, and while more contributions came from Canadian authors, it produced very little in the way of short fiction.

British North American newspapers in the first half of the century tended to be relatively expensive and highly inflammatory political tracts usually associated with churches. During the same period, literary magazines took the high road and avoided politics and religion altogether. *The Snow Drop* editors, Mrs. Harriet Vining Cheney and Mrs. Eliza Lanesford Cushing, endeavoured to avoid political or religious partisanship in their publication for children; however, avoiding ecclesiastical positions was not the same thing as avoiding moral or ethical judgements on child and adult behaviours. These the editors of *The Snow Drop* freely dispensed. Some contemporary critics object to this moralising and find the little periodical objectionable on that account alone. But such a position seems fruitless since *The Snow Drop* could be expected to do little else but follow the time-honoured lead of children's periodicals and books on both sides of the Atlantic if it were to build a successful level of readership. Using a broader perspective, we must admit that it may never be possible for an author to escape the particular ethics of the age in which s/he writes.

In *The New Republic of Childhood* (1990) Sheila Egoff and Judith Saltman find *The Snow Drop* to be basically instructional (236), and this opinion has carried through subsequent assessments by various other critics. But it may be that entertainment value is not easy to isolate from other values in a time fifteen decades removed from our own. For example, can we be sure that any given story in our own day does not "teach" values and principles? If the values are liberal humanism rather than Christian doctrine, does that make them more entertainment and less didacticism? If the parents of *The Snow Drop* readers had been dead set on teaching their children rather than entertaining them, then scripture and serious text books would have been the family reading. That parents even purchased a commercially available magazine for their children means that entertainment beyond mere instruction was the dual goal.

The little magazine contains a variety of highly entertaining sections such as plays for children, songs with words and music, and poems for the seasons and for special occasions. It offered more academically oriented anecdotes about history, geography, science, and natural history alongside skills for the homemaker such as simple recipes, instructions for handicrafts, and suggestions for young artists. Surely there is little overtly didactic about riddles, puzzles, jokes, and conundrums. Rather, *The Snow Drop* should be considered parallel with the other nursery paraphernalia found in moderately affluent homes of the period: all items put there to foster safe, healthy, happy minds and bodies.

Concerning readership, critic Carole Gerson notes that "Ostensibly seeking a readership of both sexes, *The Snow Drop* was actually directed towards middle-class girls, about six to twelve years in age, who needed to be educated to fulfil their future social roles and domestic responsibilities" (Snow Drop 14). I would suggest that she sets the age range too low, and that her presumed gender of the preferred reader cannot be substantiated. The fact that the periodical contained a percentage of domestic information does not automatically exclude boys as readers. Many of the Domestic Stories involve boy characters in family life situations and, as could be expected, boy protagonists figure even more prominently in the few tales of school life and adventure stories. Boys also appear as keepers in many of the animal tales. The recipes and handicrafts which appeared more frequently in the later issues may have been added in order to increase the periodical's appeal to a broader base of readers—the whole family—much as *The Youth's Companion* would do three decades later in order to stabilise a readership with a high turn-over rate.

The person who wrote the explanatory material at the beginning of the microfiche copy disagrees with Gerson's assertion that the material was suitable for the six to twelve age category. "From the content and style of writing, it seemed to be intended for older children ages ten to fourteen years." My own judgement, based on the vocabulary, the topics chosen, and the tone of the articles, is that much of the non-fiction would be too difficult for younger children but well within the reach of youths older than the six to twelve age group. Nevertheless, much of the fiction and poetry would be suitable as read-aloud material for the younger siblings in a family. Given the needs for family entertainment at the time, most likely *The Snow Drop* was read around the table in the evenings by parents and youths of both sexes and all ages.

Montreal was the literary centre of Canada at the time *The Snow Drop* began publication in mid-century, an era characterised by political unrest, the emergence of regional identities, and great waves of immigrants from the British Isles. Each had an impact on the emerging society and created tensions that helped to open up possibilities for change, for new things. From the mid-eighteenth century onward, both the U.S. and Britain could produce books and periodicals more cheaply because of their settlement patterns than could Canada. George L. Parker states in *Beginnings of the Book Trade in Canada* that "Britain and the United States seaboard had a network of towns while this country had ribbon-like strands of communities stretched along coasts and waterways" (17). But water transportation for books proved costly. For many decades the Canadian population remained small and scattered, and in the rural areas relatively poor with a high illiteracy rate. Traditionally Canada imported more expensive works from Britain such as textbooks and trade books; from America came the flow of cheap material such as novels and periodicals (53). The Americans were able to produce printed material so cheaply because of the use of a rotary stream press (131) and their copyright law. First enacted in 1790, the law was succeeded by the Foreign Reprints Act of 1850, which continued to legalise pirated copies of nearly any manuscript whatsoever. No royalty fees had to be paid. Costs decreased, circulation and subscriptions increased, and the publishing companies thrived, but authors in all three countries felt the bite. (Whether or not Canada's publishing industry can survive pressures from the U.S. and Britain even at the turn of the twenty-first century remains a matter of conjecture.)

The book trade went through periods of boom and bust like all other businesses. For example, a boom in the 1850s was followed shortly by a depression in 1857. The taste for cheap books increased markedly during and after the American Civil War in the 1860s. The public was interested in dime novels, those popular romantic fictions which had swiftly unfolding plots about various stock characters, with villains often acting as anti-heroes. As Parker puts it, "Although many of the cheap books were aimed at adults, they were avidly read by adolescents of both sexes, soldiers in the Civil War, and by the new generation of young readers in British North America" (131). Nevertheless, Canadian companies continued their efforts to compete in the English language market until, by the time of Confederation in 1867, bookmaking had become a major industry.

Many of the anonymously authored articles and stories in Canada's *The Snow Drop* are either known to be or are assumed to be "lifted" from periodicals published in Britain and the U.S., not an uncommon practice at the time on both sides of the Atlantic. Consequently, *The Snow Drop* is considered by some to be non-Canadian derivative ephemera and little critical work has been done on it. Yet the little magazine remains a fine testament to what concerns for their children were uppermost in the minds of the more educated and affluent Canadian parents. Since periodicals were generally passed from hand to hand, from family to family, because of their expense, it is highly likely that households of all income brackets gained access to *The Snow Drop*.

The extent of the literature this study undertakes to analyse may be surprising to some. Approximately 380 stories appearing in *The Snow Drop* were selected as having significant parallels to the variants discovered in the later periodicals. For example, 142 are about domestic relations, 190 are about history, 76 about domestic animals (not including natural history entries, which are voluminous), 23 about adventure, fourteen about school, nine about other races, six about youths who labour, and only four tales about the weather and terrain. Obviously, it is possible to choose for discussion only a small sampling from each group in order to establish a climate at mid-century for Canadian writing.

This dissertation will consider the Canadian content of only four of the many American periodicals published between 1870 and 1914, but these are representative of the best periodical fiction of the time: *The Youth's Companion*, *Golden Days for Boys and Girls*, *St. Nicholas*, and *Harper's Young People*. Similarly, only three of the multitude of possible British periodicals in the same time period will be examined here: *The Boy's Own Paper*, *Young England*, and *The Captain*. Together, these seven magazines constitute the most popular of the periodicals designed for youths of the middle and upper classes. They tended to include beautiful illustrations, more precise editing, and increasingly they included the work of well-established writers for adults in their pages for children and young adults. Most significantly, they all published short fiction by Canadian authors and about Canada and Canadians.

The number count in the seven periodicals from England and America cannot be precise for several reasons. Some of the serialised stories are essentially one longer short story, while others are a series of distinctly separate tales on a related subject or character. I will not count individually those stories which were published in several different periodicals at nearly the same time, or in the same periodical a generation later, nor will I discuss chapters of novels published in serial form. Confusions can arise because many stories are very nearly the same, for authors were discouraged from inventing new forms. In fact, those who did so were not published. All in all, the grand total for selection is in the range of 450 tales.

I will assign each tale to a different variant of the adventure genre according to the aspects I find most interesting to highlight for a particular discussion; I have no illusions that any story will be exclusively an example of any one adventure tale type, for most have aspects of several. The first three chapters involve a description of the project, the periodicals, the theoretical landscape, and the social and political environment at their composition. Analysis of the stories begins with Chapter IV, entitled "Hunting Wild Animals," in which I select from among 90 stories for my discussion. The section on "Adventures in History" involves approximately 50, and "Adventures of English Lads and Others" about 35, for a total of approximately 85 tales to be handled in Chapter V. Chapter VI involves a first section about "Adventures of Youths Who Labour" which will survey in the range of 75 tales, while a second section about "Adventurers Versus Weather and Terrain" will survey about 60 tales, for a total nearing 135 tales. Chapter VII, similarly, contains two parts: section one on "Domestic Adventures" contains about 90 to 100 tales (depending on whether mysteries are included), and section two on "School Adventures" comprises a field of only about ten stories in all.

Finally, Chapter VIII about "Animal Adventurers" has a relatively small group to discuss, about twenty tales. Although the periodicals published for youths contain comparatively few examples of these tales, it is through later generations of youths that this variant retains a place in the canon. The Realistic Animal Story early on becomes synonymous with Canadian professional writing of the nineteenth century and is an internationally recognised distinctive literary contribution from Canada. Consequently, I have devoted an entire chapter to the historical growth of this variant. My conclusions will comprise the final chapter.

What will follow is a brief description of the individual periodicals of this later period in the order of their appearance on the market.

St. Nicholas (1870-1943):

Among those selected for discussion, the American magazine *St. Nicholas* was the first to open its doors. It was designed to be a companion periodical for youths to parallel *Scribner's Monthly*, which had been developed for an adult readership. *St. Nicholas* was deliberately given the same structure, concept, authors, and illustrators as *Scribner's Monthly* in order to appeal to the children (and their purchasing parents) of a more affluent segment of society. With that affluence came education and both the interest and the time for arts and letters. Mary Mapes Dodge, an established writer for children, served as editor from 1873 until her death in 1905; however, the periodical survived virtually unchanged with William Fayal Clarke as editor until 1927, well beyond the time limits of this study.

St. Nicholas handled the difficulty of a readership constantly outgrowing its periodical by linking the paper socially and intellectually with the parent's reading and by opening a special section "For Very Little Folk" with stories and poems in large print to appeal to the pre-school age group. Both of these ploys parallel the success formula used by *The Youth's Companion*. The first short fiction published by a Canadian in *St. Nicholas* was Isabella Valancy Crawford's "The Good-Natured Bear" in 1876-77. From then until 1914, approximately eighteen pieces of short fiction were produced by Canadians, many of them by Charles G. D. Roberts, and a few by other authors such as

Annie Howells Frechette and Wilfred T. Grenfell. Far greater were the number of Canadian poems published, a genre beyond the limitations for this study.

The Boy's Own Paper (1879-1950):

This long-lived British periodical began publishing in the same year as the American *Harper's Young People*, nine years after *St. Nicholas* began, but *The Boy's Own Paper* outlived them all and both world wars besides. What made it so enduringly popular? To begin with, parents felt comfortable with it around because it was published by the Religious Tract Society. Secondly, many authors were recognisable names with recognisable credentials printed after those names. Thirdly, as E.S. Turner mentions in *Boys Will be Boys*, it had the endorsement of royalty: both Prince Arthur and Prince George, who later became King George V, were apparently fans of the publication (56). Fourthly, the stories appealed to a higher class of taste than the sensational pulps popular in the streets. And finally, the paper contained a wide variety of articles from technical "How-to" to history, biography, geography, and science.

Part of the popularity of the *B.O.P.*, as it was affectionately termed, involved the recognition that it contained healthy boy's literature for healthy boys. Claudia Nelson paraphrases the underlying sentiment of the editorial staff: "the strongest souls belonged to boys who rose at five for a cold bath and a brisk run . . ." (67). The twentieth century stands by to agree with a shiver: yes, it would take a strong constitution to withstand that kind of regimen! W. Gordon Stables as the editor of the medical correspondence column of *B.O.P.* repeatedly upheld the roles of "bracing air, cold water, and hot porridge in building character" (Nelson 139). But so too did the writers of short fiction. Much was written at the time about the importance of training healthy, well-disciplined bodies, and a cult of athleticism grew up to efface what increasingly came under discussion in England as a felt cultural weakness in regard to the physical fitness of the upcoming generation.

Whether or not they wrote with first-hand knowledge about Canada, many British writers felt drawn to write about the romance of the young country in the northland. The boys loved the weekly because the stories were action-packed. Each month, one edition contained a finely drawn colour-plate of one of these action-scenes done by a recognised artist. The boys became devoted subscribers because the stories in *The Boy's Own Paper* took them to far away lands with exotic peoples, in which lads just older than they performed feats of bravery and manliness that brought honour to family, prestige to England, and a fortune to themselves. Prominent citizens of both the United States and England have on occasion cited these youth-oriented periodicals as having early on established their reading tastes and even their world view, as it coalesced in adult life. Philip Warner, in his Introduction to *The Best of British Pluck: The Boy's Own Paper* (1976) makes reference to the tastes of "prime ministers, archbishops, dukes, generals, captains of industry" having been formed by this British periodical addressed to adolescent boys (1).

Harper's Young People (1879-1950):

Harper's Young People: An Illustrated Weekly was composed to appeal to much the same audience as *St. Nicholas*, that is, an economically secure, upwardly mobile, and artistically aware segment of American society. This magazine was tailored for the children of parents who believed that a good part of the education for their offspring would come from recreational reading sources which would augment schoolroom practices. It continued under the same name until 1895 when its title was changed to *Harper's Round Table* and subsequently became a monthly magazine in 1897. Its new name echoed both the late Victorian preoccupation with things medieval, particularly King Arthur's Knights of the Round Table, as well as things domestic, the round table of the home where the family sits in the evening firelight. Despite whatever one read into the title, the trend in the last four years of publication was toward boy's literature for ages ten to sixteen; during this time the magazine consisted primarily of adventure stories. Domestic stories and other girl's interests were no longer profitable. These changes notwithstanding, *Harper's Round Table* ceased publication in 1899. But in the interim, Canadian authors such as J. Macdonald Oxley, Charles G.D. Roberts, and Frank Lillie Pollock had the opportunity of publishing many polished adventure and animal tales among the lists of fine young adult stories carried by the magazine.

Golden Days for Boys and Girls (1880-1899):

Following the lead of the editors of the three other American periodicals mentioned above, the owner and editor of *Golden Days for Boys and Girls*, James Elverson, desired to uphold ideals of good conduct and ideal citizenship for his young readers, but since his target readers were primarily active boys, he also knew this group needed to be entertained with adventures and jokes. His illustrations are not as elegant as those of *St. Nicholas* or *Harper's Young People*, but the clean lines are pleasant visually and help to present the stories appropriately. Elverson solved the problem of a short-lived reader base by reprinting issues practically in their entirety at about ten-year intervals.

Copy-right laws of the period did not prevent periodicals from "borrowing" already published stories from various sources; two of Elverson's favourites for this purpose were *The Youth's Companion* and the British *The Boy's Own Paper*. He also tended to publish more serialised novels than the others, and absolutely no poetry appeared on the pages of *Golden Days for Boys and Girls* until the last few years of publication, and then it was probably included more as filler for page layout than from an interest in high literature.

The type of adventure tale Elverson desired for *Golden Days for Boys and Girls* had the most affinity with the cheaper pulp fiction for young adults that was vastly popular in the era. But even then, the differences between the rip-roaring, anti-establishment dime novel plots and those used in the short fiction published in *Golden Days* were probably greater than the similarities. R. Gordon Moyles describes Elverson's literary taste this way: "he combined sensational fiction (where good always won out) and informational adventure with a fair dose of Sunday School philosophy" (Index 30). As Patricia Demers observes in her entry for R. Gordon Kelly's *Children's Periodicals of the United States*, the dialogue in the stories demarcates both the social class of the characters and the theme of the story (179) resulting in a tendency to a repetitious and predictable quality. Canadian authors featured in *Golden Days for Boys and Girls* were the adventure writers such as E.W. Thomson, J. Macdonald Oxley, and the nature writer Charles G.D. Roberts along with a stable of well-established American children's writers.

Young England (1881-1937):

Young England differed from the other periodicals in significant ways, yet it enjoyed success throughout its run. R. Gordon Moyles notes that the magazine has a rather more sober tone, as though the large number of informational articles it contained were aimed at an older readership (Index 34). The Canadian content it carried includes historical anecdotes, travel descriptions, and descriptions of life-style activities as Moyles describes, nevertheless, the overwhelming bulk of the material was short fiction adventure and nature/animal tales. Charles G.D. Roberts, Frank L. Pollock, and J. Macdonald Oxley were once again among the Canadians to contribute stories; and in the British contingent we find Argyll Saxby, W.M. Elkington, and A. Allen Brockington.

The Youth's Companion (fl. 1882-1928):

The Youth's Companion could well be cited as the earliest of the seven periodicals for it was founded by Nathaniel Willis (1780-1870) in 1827 as successor to the *Recorder*, one of the more important religious newspapers of the age. No Canadian content appears, however, until the dates listed above, and these serve as the boundary dates for R. Gordon Moyles' index.

The Youth's Companion is frequently cited as the most popular children's periodical of the nineteenth century, despite the many changes it underwent throughout its life. At its beginning, it carried the full weight of Puritan morals, principles, goals, and values. Part of the magazine's Prospectus of 1827 reads as follows:

> The contents of the proposed work will be miscellaneous, though articles of a religious character will be most numerous. It will not take the form of discussion, or argument, and controversy will be entirely excluded. It will aim to inculcate truth by brief narratives, familiar illustrations, short biographies, and amusing anecdotes. It will attempt to excite attention to

> good things by entertaining matter; and yet everything frivolous or injurious will be avoided. Its several departments will comprize religion, morals, manners, habits, filial duties, books, amusements, schools, and whatever may be thought truly useful, either in this life or the life to come.

Despite this decidedly earnest description, or perhaps because the children overlooked the fact that they were being taught for the good of their immortal souls, they still found a modicum of entertainment value in *The Youth's Companion* and subscriptions rose. Daniel S. Ford and John W. Olmstead bought the paper in 1857 with Ford as managing editor, but dissolved the partnership ten years later. Ford continued to edit the paper and gradually began to change its tone to one less didactic, less sentimental, and less pious. Instead, stories involving the realistic exploits of believable children began to appear. Frank Mott in *A History of American Magazines* (1938) summarizes Ford's preferences in short fiction:

> liveliness, action, humor, and convincing youthful characters; he rigidly maintained a taboo against love-making, crime (especially murder), the slightest emphasis on immoralities, and improper language. Melodrama was commoner in the early *Companion* than in the paper of the nineties. Adventures gradually became less exotic and more convincing, often related to hunting, fishing, and games. (II: 271)

Whether funny or adventurous, as the century waned these tales tended toward better written plots to interest their still young, but increasingly sophisticated, readership.

As succeeding generations of children grew up and began reading adult periodicals, *The Youth's Companion* was able to maintain appeal for this renewable base of readers. Apparently the editors discovered that the turn-over of readers because of age could be ameliorated by extending the appeal of the periodical to those both younger and older than the expected readership. Hence, the periodical carried a running title, "The Companion for All the Family," to appeal to parents, and a "Children's Page" to interest pre-school and early readers. As David L. Greene states in his entry for *The Youth's Companion* in R. Gordon Kelly's *Children's Periodicals of the United States* (1984), "Ford, however, did build up a readership more stable than that of most periodicals for the young, probably by convincing adult readers that they were reading something suitable for the entire family when they were actually reading children's literature" (511).

The first Canadian known to publish in *The Youth's Companion* was Annie Howells Frechette in 1878 with a short story entitled "Poor Little Bobby." By sheer numbers alone, E.W. Thomson's short fiction contributions were greatest and followed the instructions laid down by Ford to the contributors: they were not to invent, they were to imitate what had worked before. The editors knew what would sell, and increased sales was their intended objective.

The Captain (1899-1924):

This British periodical began publishing the same year that the U.S. *Harper's Round Table* ended. The turn of the century was the high noon of Imperial fervour, and *The Captain* was designed to reflect this way of thinking. Manly men and boys, full of health and vigour and British pluck, undertook amazing quests, and acquitted themselves with brave feats that stretched credulity rather than the intellect. Yet at the same time, the Boer War was causing economic and ideological dislocations.

Canadian writers of the popular animal and adventure tales such as J. Macdonald Oxley and Charles G.D. Roberts were published in *The Captain*. One of the more notable Canadian creations, a new genre, the Mounted Police story, was not to take hold until after the cut-off date for this study. The pen of the ex-Northwest Mounted Policeman, John Mackie, in years to come would carry children, through their imaginations, into the British Imperial tradition as transferred to the Canadian West. Prior to 1914, Mackie's stories were still in the animals-and-adventures-with-Indians mode. Another Canadian to have a novel serialised was Norman Duncan with *Stout Hearts and Red Decks: A Tale of the Newfoundland Seal Hunters* (1906). But by far the most prolific contributor of the Canadian tale was the British naturalist, H. Mortimer Batten, who wrote dozens of stories about youths and men of action out in the Canadian wilds.

While a great deal of the writing for the U.S. periodicals was done by women, by contrast, the Canadian stories are largely written by men and they predominantly depict the struggles of men and boys, often together. R. Gordon Kelly notes in *Mother Was A Lady* (1974) that the fathers in the American stories tend to exert a weak moral force, to hover on the periphery, to be incapacitated by disease or alcohol, or simply to be absent, his assumption being that the gender of the author was a factor (78). Fathers seemed to disappear from stories by female American authors. Nothing could be further from the description of the stories written by the Canadian contingent, for the influence of the male is dominant and ever-present. Even the better-known female Canadian authors usually employ male protagonists: of the five stories by L.M. Montgomery, all involve boys as protagonists, as do the three by Marjorie Pickthall. In the hundreds of adventure stories by E.W. Thomson, Frank Lillie Pollock, Charles

G.D. Roberts, and J. Macdonald Oxley (to name a few of the most prolific male contributors), only an occasional female protagonist appears.

Considering the highly gendered roles of the nineteenth century, it comes as no surprise that all of the authors of stories involving wild animals written by Canadians or about Canada and Canadians were, in fact, male. When women wrote about animals, they were usually the domesticated varieties, and usually in domestic settings. Women's writing at the time was traditionally in the genre of domestic fiction, for societal expectations did not readily admit women in the role of adventurer, at least on the surface of things. Often the animal is the adventurer; sometimes the animal is the hero; and frequently it is the villain. Certain stories correspond to the characterisation and plot structure of domestic fiction, while the bulk of them are strictly styled after the adventure mode. And most definitely, some of the animals in the stories are conquered and colonised.

These later Canadian authors who published between 1870 and 1914 had extremely limited Canadian markets for their work; for many there was no other choice but to sell their work to the periodicals of two foreign countries, England and the United States, if they were to become professional writers. This marketing situation involved a curious end-loop in which Canadians purchased the British and American magazines, thus importing their own export.

I will first direct my discussion toward establishing the place of this short fiction as variants of the adventure tale genre, both exploring how works correspond and how they deviate from the genre. I will also examine these tales as colonial literature with attention to historical and social contexts, with particular focus on race, class, and gender issues. As much as is possible, I will give due consideration to chronology. The Canadian content of these seven periodicals from England and America has not received critical attention before. This thesis is intended to remedy that neglect.

Young Adult Theorists and Historical Literary Analysis

Theorists of Young Adult literature are as yet a very small clan. While Children's Literature has largely overcome its earlier pejorative attributions as somehow less worthy of critical rigour than other parts of the literary canon, this process has been retarded in the critical analysis of Young Adult literature. When Roger Sale pointed out in 1982 that children's literature is "the only literary category that defines an audience rather than a subject or an author" (Bridges 78) he could well have included Young Adult or Adolescent literature in his description. Yet it is no longer useful to see Young Adult literature as a sub-set within Children's Literature. While each can be defined by audience, and a swiftly changing audience it is, more importantly, Young Adult literature can be more clearly defined by its form—the adventure tale. Certainly some tales for teen audiences are domestic romances, but more frequently this aspect of the literature is subsumed under the adventure code or combined in some other (often innovative) way with the necessary selling qualities which delineate adventure.

While Roderick McGillis, a Canadian critic of children's and young adult literature, does not employ historical analysis *per se* in *The Nimble Reader: Literary Theory and Children's Literature* (1996), early in his book, while positioning the current trends in criticism against their precedents, he summarises aptly the nineteenth-century perspective on reading for children.

> The nineteenth century was rich in platitudes on the importance of reading literature, platitudes that we still echo: reading literature strengthens the imagination, toughens the moral fiber, sharpens our sense of beauty consequently improving our sense of taste, and deepens our spiritual awareness. In short the reading of literature is a civilizing activity; it makes us better human beings. It makes us more discriminating than we are if we do not read. Knowing good from bad in literature helps us know good from bad in life. And make no mistake, we can know good from bad; we can find truth in literature and in life. (9)

His tone suggests that his own position is far from identical with that of the theory he is summarising, yet at the same time he delivers a succinct justification of the literature of the period as though actually spoken by an adult nineteenth-century authority figure, be it parent, author, or editor.[1]

Since my dissertation will situate the short adventure fiction against social and historical trends in Canada, England, and the United States, I have been particularly influenced by those critics who employ the New Historicist approach. Particularly helpful has been the work of Canadian critic Patrick A. Dunae in which he discusses both boy's literature in the nineteenth-century periodicals and imperialist ideology in juvenile literature of the late nineteenth century. Typically, he works carefully back and forth between historical documents and the literary text to establish the specifics of the issue he is exploring. His essay, "New Grub Street for Boys," (1989) discusses the growth of popular literature for British boys in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. As an example of his method, he opens his essay by identifying three essentially simple factors that strongly influenced juvenile periodical production in the period. I will show how he uses the information to construct a milieu for the literature.

First, he mentions the phenomenal attention paid to childhood and adolescence from the 1860s onward in Britain. It was as though childhood was newly discovered to be an act of God, while adolescence had just been discovered as existing at all (13). While child labour had long been a traditional way of life in rural areas, during the industrial revolution as disparity in income continued to increase, the pitifully small wages of children became a requirement for the survival of families of the working poor. The rising middle classes (primarily merchants and professionals) maintained a different value system in regard to their children's education. Children were treated in the romantic tradition as treasures of innocence, the bearers of a purer culture, the epitome of spiritual consonance. And it was for these children, as well as the few wealthy, that the literature of the "golden age" was directed.

Second, Dunae cites technological advances as essential to the mass circulation of periodicals in the last quarter of the century. Specifically, in the 1860s the Hoe cylinder press increased the speed of printing, in the 1870s new book bindings and cardboard paper covers reduced the costs of packaging the books, and in the 1880s the development of inexpensive pulp paper helped reduce the cost of producing a single book. Furthermore, throughout the period transportation by rail became increasingly more efficient for quick distribution of printed matter (14). All in all, the price of reading dropped sufficiently to include a very large economic bracket.

Dunae identifies the education reforms as the third reason for the huge increase in boy's literature in the late nineteenth century. The School Act of 1870 brought education to a far wider range of children than ever before, and this newly literate group wanted and needed age and interest appropriate reading matter. As W.T. Stead wrote in 1892, "the Education Act has practically created a new reading public" (qtd. in Lee, 29).

This preoccupation with children and childhood by adult society was not limited to England, but also occurred in America as an aftermath of the Civil War. In *Audacious Kids: Coming of Age in America's Classic Children's Books* (1992), Jerry Griswold observes, "The popularity of Children's Literature during the Golden Age was a reflection of the era's unusual fascination with the figure of the Child and the subject of childhood. To a great degree, the period between 1865 and 1914 might be reckoned the Era of the Child" (20). He identifies five basic intellectual trends occurring between the years 1865 and 1914 which demonstrate this preoccupation with childhood in America. First, authors exhibit a certain nostalgia for the "prewar bliss of their own agrarian childhoods" (20). They pass over the miseries of the Civil War, and in an attempt to smooth over other disturbing trends, such as the population shifts caused by the influx of immigrants and by massive industrialisation, the children's authors hark back to their memories (whether faulty or precise is, of course, impossible to determine) of growing up as children themselves in an arcadian setting.

The fascination with the future of America, in which the child is seen as the great hope, is the second intellectual trend to foreground the American child. The juvenile periodicals were flourishing at a time when culture was changing dramatically: the laying of the transatlantic cable, the completion of the Union Pacific Railroad, the invention of the telephone and electric lights, and the discovery of the basic possibilities for flight by the Wright brothers (20).

Griswold describes the third intellectual trend as "Progress Through Recapitulation," and explains, "in times of rapid change a recapitulation of childhood can be a means of summoning the energy necessary for genuine progress . . . " (21). His idea seems to be that if a state takes on the qualities of a child, it can affect the freshness of outlook, the fervency of belief in self, and the ingenuity to reckon with sudden change that characterise children.

The fourth intellectual trend arises from the changes in attitudes toward childhood, in which he cites the early nineteenth century as a time when children were needed for work on the family farm, for example, and so had to make a hurried excursion through the latter years of childhood. However, the later nineteenth century saw the rise of the middle class in which children were not needed in the labour force and could enjoy the luxury of being sheltered and protected from certain aspects of the adult world (22).

Finally, the fifth intellectual trend concerns changes being made in child-rearing practices. The child was seen through romantic eyes as father to the man. Further, experts in a number of disciplines—psychology, education, journalism, advertising, to name a few—all took childhood as a province for the exercise of their expertise (23).[2]

I was fortunate to have encountered J.S. Bratton's *The Impact of Victorian Children's Fiction* (1981) early in my studies, for it offers a literary history taking in the immense sweep of British novelistic fiction for children from the early years of the nineteenth century to its close. She gives a detailed analysis of a vast array of individual works by the writers whose work determined the direction of children's literature during the period. This includes an over-view of girls' stories and the most popular periodicals that sought this market, as well as boys' stories and some of the weekly papers that catered to this group. In her conclusion she states, "Whenever a children's writer tells the story of the journey of romance, or focuses a view of the world through the eyes of a child, or attempts to bring history to life or to explore adolescent feeling, the nineteenth-century educators and moralists have been there before, and either by assimilation or reaction, their methods are influential still" (208). As a salute to the critics of a past century, her statement carries weight, and certainly her sense that there is nothing new under the sun lends unsought humility to a fledgling critic such as I am. But on another level her statement invites response. If one inserts "adventure" as another meaning of the word "romance," the first sentence would read: "Whenever a children's writer tells the story of the journey of [adventure] . . . the nineteenth century educators and moralists [and writers and critics] have been there before . . . ." With this modification, her work speaks directly to my project, and surely a literary argument can be spoken in various ways. Her final clause asserts that the scholarly methods of the nineteenth century have all been either assimilated or reacted to by the critics of the twentieth—undeniably true, as will be seen throughout this study.

A second set of early impressions came to me via Gillian Avery's *Nineteenth-Century Children* (1965) which, of her many critical works, I choose to focus on here, because it too has the immensity of sweep across the same terrain as Bratton's book, but of course with different eyes and reactions. Her vision is that "In eleven decades [children's literature] moved from the prosy didacticism of the Georgians, where childhood is hardly recognized, except as a tiresome stage of immaturity, to be sloughed off as soon as possible, to Kenneth Grahame's world where the child is supreme, isolated in an elysium from which he contemptuously surveys the oafish adults without" (8).

Articles and books are still being spun from the ideas expressed so succinctly in this sentence. My self-imposed cautionary note when reading about books of the past or the books themselves, however, is to remind myself not to revere their ideas simply because of their age. Books which have survived for decades or centuries still have to measure up, must make meaning in the context of the present-day world.

Meaningful interaction of modern voices with these older texts, as evident in the work of Dunae, Griswold, Bratton, and Avery is, of course, an on-going challenge, and one which the long tradition of historical literary analysis has repeatedly addressed. Present-day practitioners have been particularly challenged to differentiate their current programme from the old historicism of the nineteenth century, which frequently situated the literature within the biography of the author drawn against a panoply of great men and their battles. I would like to take a step back, at this point, to survey some of the critical paths through which New Historicism has come in order to gain perspective on the nineteenth-century material to come.

The literary historiography of the Romantic movement in the first half of the nineteenth century considered the emotional presentation of the material as essential to reproducing the totality of the past. Typically, the Romanticists concern for local colour and effects could be constructed by arranging facts to create artistic tension or dramatic suspense. The climate surrounding historical literary analysis changed drastically with the rise in the second half of the nineteenth century, of the Positivist movement. An attempt was made to duplicate scientific forms in order to add credibility to the discussion of art. Documents became all-important, facts had to be referenced, and a strict adherence to chronological order had to be observed. A preference for plain language instead of figurative with no reference by personal pronoun to the author, plus the concerted attempt to avoid subjectivity or any other patriotic, moral, or personal ambitions, mark these literary histories. Saussure lived by these rules and successfully remapped linguistics, but other critics have since ridiculed the idea that it is possible to keep ideology out of a text. Human perception is biased of necessity, language is not neutral, and data do not speak for themselves. Therefore, they say, a stance of neutrality is nothing more than empty posturing.

The early New Historicists broke with certain Positivist traditions while maintaining others. They discarded narratives of dramatic episodes in favour of asking questions, and instead sought to describe history as a series of case studies significant by how they are informed by surrounding institutions. Braudel, the French theorist who specialised in metahistories, effectively broke with the Positivist movement, loaded his document with quantitative data, eschewed figures of speech, and all personal preoccupations. Yet readers today will note that while he was able to rid his texts of most storytelling, he was not successful in ridding his language of personification, for it is an inherent quality of the language itself.

The early New Historicists threw out narrative as a solution to some of the ills they saw in Positivism, but contemporary New Historicists have reactivated storytelling as one of their important tools. Paul Veyne, for one, asserts that a history must be an inventory of the differences between the story of the object under investigation and the story of the subject who undertakes the inquiry, and in so doing, brings back the personal pronouns to literary history. Thereby, truth is constructed rather than essential.

At the end of the twentieth century, New Historicists have combined the apparatus of science with various literary ornaments. They agree with the post-modernists that purely rational and logical discourse does not exist, in fact, cannot exist. For New Historicists, the act of literary history, then, is an act of deconstructing their theory; they admit the subjectivity of their commentary by the acceptance of an overt narrator, since texts do not write themselves. With narrative reinstated, a basic problem for the New Historicist is how to distribute data, since categories are not self-evident. Yet the incompleteness of the research is part of the text.

David Perkins' approach to critical literary history has been among the most useful for me. He outlines his methodology with simplicity: first, a critical literary history is not the same thing as a history because the literature itself has value which must be respected. Second, the critic must reconstruct the past in such a way that it becomes part of the present consciousness. Third, the critic needs to illuminate the literary works as a citizen of the present as well as the past in order to focus on differences. Fourth, the critic must reject a rigidly historical point of view in selecting, interpreting, and evaluating the literature as contemporary institutions press against contrary modes. We can see at once that these four items are not discrete: they overlap, they contradict, they deconstruct each other's intentions. As Perkins observes, "to describe the work without describing the system in which it functions is meaningless" (170).

The Content of the Form (1987) by Hayden White, emphatically embraces narrative as the solution to translating knowing into telling in order to reveal meaning, coherence, and significance of events. In his words, "the absence of narrative capacity or a refusal of narrative indicates an absence or refusal of meaning itself" (2). While narrative reveals the meaning, coherence and significance of events, it can also construct a false sense of continuity, he warns. But White's purpose is to educate the reader on how to negotiate discontinuity, disruption, chaos. He takes as his example the years from A.D. 709 to 734 as listed in the *Annals of Saint Gall* in which only eleven of the possible twenty-five years have an event posted. He then proceeds to develop relationships between the events and the chronicler and the society. In other words, he creates a narrative based on chronological emplotment (6-25).

A similar situation faces the researcher interested in early Canadian works for children. In the106 years between 1704 and 1810, from a list of all the publications of children's material, only five different kinds of literature were produced. Chronologically, they are: 1) school texts to educate children about their homeland of Canada; 2) an epistolary novel for young adults set in Canada; 3) religious books for the instruction of children; 4) the music and words for an Indian song printed and dedicated to one specific English child; and 5) a reprint from England of a classic collection of animal fables. We see that this list contains two distinctly different groups of items: the numerous examples of instructional materials for religious and school purposes, and three singulative items. Only one novel was published in the time span, only one little boy was singled out to have a piece of Indian music printed in his honour, and only one text from antiquity was reprinted.

To construct a parallel to White's method of analysis, the two literary groupings apparently correspond to different class patterns in existence in Canada at the time. The differences between them locates us in a culture hovering between consideration of the needs of the many and the privilege of the few, a society in which children must be taught that wealth and power can be an obligation of birth in order for an Old World culture to survive in a vastly different New World where the needs of the many dominated social patterns in a whole new way. The Indian song was dedicated to a child, Master Henry Caldwell, but the circumstances of the dedication remain obscure. It was also for children of his class that the book of Aesop's fables was printed in Canada. The weighting by sheer bulk of the pedagogical material, both secular and ecclesiastical, draws to our attention a mass of children who have to be taught their proper place in the order of things. In old World societies, this method insured the endurance of the singular position of the privileged; in the New World, despite all attempts to transplant class values, the old social codes would simply not take root.

Already "there must be a story, since there is surely a plot—if by plot we mean a structure of relationships by which the [books] contained in the account are endowed with a meaning by being identified as parts of an integrated whole" (9). Perkins notes that White's object is to explain, and outlines his preferred structure for a narrative history as occurring in three phases: first, one must compile a chronological list of all works in the time span; second, one must shape a story within the chronicle; and third, one must emplot the story, that is, identify it with an archetype or create it in metaphor (42).

The dominating themes of these five literary groupings of early Canadian literature for children are, on one level, political. Will Canada be dominated by an imported aristo-military class and town merchants or by the less able plebeians—the farmers, the woodsmen, the tradesmen? On another level the themes revolve around educational issues. Will Canadian clergy and schoolmasters be able to teach the plebeians those qualities of spiritual life and those lessons in basic literacy that will enable the people to cast intelligent votes and carry on modern transactions? In all respects the themes are cultural. Will people of the New World recognise and value the same kinds of art, literature, music, fashion, and architecture as in the Old World? The differences amongst these themes describe the push and pull between people set free of the class restrictions of the Old World, and the people who are the continuation of those classes in the New.

Walter L. Arnstein identifies albeit somewhat reductively, four basic ways of writing large-scale histories in his essay "Reflections on Histories of Childhood" (1980). The theory of progress assumes that every day/year/decade/century life is improving as mankind develops his rational nature and as we increase in knowledge and humanity. The theory of devolution (the glory of the pessimists) insists that since the Garden of Eden or some other Golden Age, everything is getting worse, becoming corrupted. The theory that cycles of growth and decline have occurred throughout earth's history indicates that any given age will be in some aspect of this constant round. And finally, the singulative theory purports that history is a patternless array of events, much like a miscellany column in the newspaper, and that any attempt to organise them into ascending or descending patterns or cycles is an act of the imagination (42-4).

Arnstein's systems may well be a useful distillation of the philosophy behind large-sweeping works involving many centuries, even millennia, but for a study such as this, involving a little less than seven decades, a much more detailed method of literary history is needed, involving analysis of cultural, social, and political systems as implicated in the literature.

This much we know: both then and now, the youthful reader of the juvenile periodicals was seen as part of a consumer group, as a source of inspiration and hope, and as a group to be instructed and entertained with judiciously chosen literature.

NOTES

[1] McGillis' book is a fascinating source for developing an understanding of contemporary currents in criticism. He states his predilection for Formalist criticism at the outset, and then proceeds to discuss and demonstrate seven critical methods, formalism and New Criticism, myth and archetype, psychoanalytic, political, structuralist, post-structuralist and reader response, all on the same twelve-word nursery rhyme text. To be sure, he considers many other works besides the nursery rhyme and concentrates most instructively on three very different classics; nevertheless, the drama of the book lies in his ability to discover such a wealth of possibilities with one brief (some would call it innocuous) little poem such as "Jack be nimble, Jack be quick, Jack jump over the candlestick."

[2] The American book *Children's Literature & Critical Theory* (1995) by Jill P. May handles a range of critical approaches to children's literature from Reader-Response Theory, New Criticism and Mythic Criticism to Feminist Criticism. In between it displays a wealth of rhetorical stances and methods for engaging both the youthful reader and the teacher in the process of self-involvement and mutual exchange regarding the text. This seems to be the area of May's greatest strength; her analyses of a multitude of young adult and children's books deserves our attention. One has a niggling worry, though, by the end of the book, that the interpretative strategies and the cultural positioning it promotes somehow feel uncomfortably homogenised, mainstream, smooth, like eating a Pringle potato chip—nothing random or idiosyncratic or wondrous about it.

Chapter II

The Adventure Genre

As Canadians look back on the nineteenth century from the turn of the twenty-first, it appears it will never be a simple matter to determine the true ethos of the times, or even to differentiate between stereotypes that the period actually had, and the stereotypes the immediate successors to the Victorian Age, the modernists, singled out to rebel against. For once an idea is in current circulation, whether accurate or not, all subsequent responses to an age, or a literature, or a philosophy of life, must respond to the inaccuracy in some way, thereby re-inscribing it in its negative dimension. No doubt the first preconception to dispel in attempting an analysis of the Canadian content in the periodical literature of the eight magazines, is the basic idea that there are no texts from the nineteenth century for Canadianists interested in young adult literature to discuss. This opinion is far from the facts: *The Snow Drop* has long been underestimated, and Moyles' index of periodical literature informs us of a vast source of primary material. No longer can literary theorists who have formerly tended toward discussion of the twentieth century because of the rich variety of texts available, particularly from the 1960s onwards, claim a paucity of nineteenth-century documents.

As I read the hundreds of Canadian stories in the periodical literature from 1847 to 1914, I noted the stereotypes, the lines of plot development, the handling of characterisation, and the myriad of details that pointed to the period. I thought about what had been left out of the stories, why there were so very few girls and women in them, and what qualities about them had such enormous appeal to their contemporary readers—children, youths, and adults. I then began to categorise them according to four sub-genres, "animal tales," "adventure stories," "domestic tales," and "school stories," deliberately ignoring whether the fiction was a rudimentary tale or a more developed story. That discussion would come later. My first job was simply to see what types of fiction I would be dealing with and to make a preliminary structure for organising it.

When the "adventure tales" stack grew to waist-high proportions, I sub-divided it according to the subject matter of the plot line: "historical episodes," "youths versus animals," "perils in nature and terrain," "youths who labour," "English lads and Indians." But problems began to appear. For example, "youths versus animals" included not only hunting stories, but also tales of survival under various conditions, historical settings, and plenty of encounters with Indians. Moreover, some animals were represented with sizeable collections by themselves. Was the wolf story a sub-genre in itself? How about the bear story? And in what ways were the animal adventure tales different from the realistic animal tales?

The more I read the stories, the less I could distinguish between the "adventure" sub-genre and the other sub-genres I had identified, such as "domestic tales," or "animal tales," or "school stories." For example, under closer scrutiny the "youths versus animal tales" and the "domestic tales" did not demonstrate the differences in structure or theme that I had expected to find in order to distinguish between the two. Rather than being about marriage and domesticity and feelings, the tales with female protagonists frequently involved perilous encounters with wild animals and the elements, as well as various responses to dramatic stimuli. A similar range of problems occurred when I compared the "perils in nature and terrain," and "youths who labour" categories, for the youths generally laboured under perilous circumstances in an out-door setting. To my growing alarm, even the grand "animal tales" genre which generations of Canadians have pointed to as Canada's unique contribution to world literature in the nineteenth century, seemed less distinct than I had previously thought. Where does Natural History end and Fiction begin? What is thinking without language? Were the stories not built to the same model as the others?

I could plainly see that the categories themselves were the problem; "Adventure Tales" seemed to absorb all the other groupings. I checked what librarians had done with the adventure category in the on-line catalogues and found a surprisingly brief and spotty list according to plot types, and then elsewhere a longer list according to countries. Despite the apparent logic of the countries listing, it was no more helpful because it did not discriminate amongst the purportedly more factual reports of adventurers and explorers and travellers, and the fictional versions *cum* art-form.

I turned, then, to other critics to see what they had found. Ihab Hassan's essay seems to confuse the issue further despite his opening list of highly provocative questions. He examines contemporary American prose writers of adventure "whose work absorbs the traditional forms of quest, adventure, and autobiography into a somewhat esurient genre" (123). Both the observations that "autobiography is the central impulse of literature," and that "adventure and quest both revert to myth" (125), seemed initially useful, but he doesn't follow up on the ideas. When he cites adventure and quest as being the earlier version of the structures and archetypes of epic, romance, and novel which came later, his literary systems become interchangeable and therefore meaningless for my study. This view was confirmed by his statement defining adventure: "Yet raw action is not really their point. In the most resonant adventures we find a spiritual element, a mystic or antic affirmation, a sense of the sacred that confirms the order of creation" (125). Egoff and Saltmann note "the kind of mystical rapport between man and animal that can be found in the writings of the French author Rene Guillot . . ." but they find that Canadian writers do not think along these lines (101). Certainly Hassan must be describing something besides the Canadian adventure story, some literature not akin to the stack of hundreds of action-packed stories that I had just read.

On the other hand, when Martin Green writes on the first page of *Seven Types of Adventure Tale* (1991) that if you are the hero of an adventure, you can expect to be "called on for courage, cunning, ruthlessness, endurance, leadership, and basic survival skills, and ultimately you must get ready to kill or be killed," I am able to recognise a critic who has read the same kinds of adventure tales I have been reading. Green describes adventure as a literature distinct from fine literature—the art monuments—and admits that much of it does not warrant close scrutiny. But he avers that some stories do measure up (8), and that adventure deserves to be considered as a genre in its own right. I would agree: much of domestic fiction is either maudlin or didactic, but some is fine art; many animal tales are merely "cute," but certain stories inspire deep respect; some histories give the facts in chronological sequence, and others trace a pattern for a noble heart to live by.

Green laments the disparagement of the adventure genre as well as its writers by the academy. Not only do professors and teachers generally avoid it as a lesser literature, written by authors not worthy of serious study, but also they seem to pass it by as though it were quite invisible (5). But that is one quality the adventure genre cannot exhibit, for it is truly an enormous category. Critic Isabelle Jan's tepid language in reference to adventure authors seems to reflect the lack of respectability traditionally associated with the adventure genre rather than anything inherent in the literature itself. She observes: "This type of writer is primarily a technician, a master craftsman, who can forget himself and control his memories; the adventure story is the product of a well-organized imagination . . . " (124). The statement has bi-polar aspects: on the one hand the writer cannot be an artist, but merely a technician; yet on the other hand the writer demonstrates the amazing gifts of being able to forget himself and control his memories—both extraordinary qualities for a mere mortal to attain.

Incidentally, I do not place an objection to Jan's use of the male pronoun because, with only a few exceptions, Canadian young adult adventure writers have been male. Martin Green observes that most writers of adult adventure in the nineteenth century were male, as well. Apparently, adventure fiction was written for males by male authors, and domestic fiction was written for females by authors of both genders (Great 1).

Adventure heroes have distinctive qualities. Michael Nerlich speaks of adventure as "a special event that takes one by surprise" (Ideology 3), that is undertaken for its own sake, not for power nor wealth (282). Bilbo Baggins, then, is an unsuspecting ordinary person in J.R. Tolkien's well-known story *The Hobbit* (1937), who has an adventure thrust upon him. Furthermore, J.L.L. Anderson finds that "deliberate risk-taking in pursuit of a goal of no apparent practical value is not the habit of any animal other than man" (20). The need to know a thing for himself, the requirement that he see it with his own eyes, experience it first-hand, is part of what drives an adventurer (30).[1]

While adventures can be sought by would-be heroes who must live on the margins of the law as a consequence, and while the twentieth century frequently raises the status of those adventurers acting outside and against the law to the stature of anti-hero, the nineteenth-century adventure-tale writers for young adults relegated anti-heroes to the antagonist role. One of the primary distinguishing features between the sensational "blood and thunder" (or "bloods" for short) type of pulp fiction marketed to the plebeian classes which glorified the anti-social behaviours of renegades, and the adventure fiction of periodicals designed to uplift and mold the morals of the middle and upper classes, was the adherence to stereotypes of moral behaviour in characterisation.

The periodicals in this study were highly sensitive to the issue of respectability; hence, many editors imposed on their writers the requirement to avoid extremes, thus eschewing egregious violence such as murder, love-interest of any sort, and the zealous endorsement or ridicule of any particular religious creed. The editors knew that adventure had vast appeal for their audience and insisted that the attitudes exhibited in the adventure conform to the tastes of their targeted audience. With little exception, heroes were adventurers and adventurers were heroes, with all aspects of the adventure tale protagonist absorbed into one basic formula where the main character is always and ever the "good guy."

Michael Nerlich's *On the Unknown History of our Modernity* (1986) is an attempt to write the history of present modernity based on the various applications of adventure, particularly those elements of innovation and the unknown. He identifies six qualities which are present in adventure: (1) "The acceptance of economic, social, cultural, and mental changes and revolutions." (2) "The acceptance of the unknown as a positive value

. . ." (3) "Acceptance of blindness with regards to the unknown . . ." including various risks. (4) "Acceptance of chance." (5) "Recognition of the other (other races, other languages, other manners, other societies, other necessities, other desires, etc.)." (6) "Elaboration of search systems . . . " (16). As a yard-stick for the adventure tales found in the seven periodicals of the late nineteenth-century this list goes far in describing the range of plots and characterisation discovered there. In all, the range of themes found in the genre of adventure is very wide, and includes tales by adventurers and explorers and travellers, histories of individuals (biography and autobiography) and nations (political and religious). The basic limiting factor in the genre surrounds its predilection for physicality, for action.

Some authors recognise as the basis for adventure stories three variations of the journey tale. Isabelle Jan is one such, and identifies three versions according to the name of the protagonist in a particularly famous story example: Ulysses, Sinbad, and Robinson Crusoe. They personify several diverse impulses: the temptation to stay but the greater desire to return home, the autobiography or picaresque tale, and the desire to experience the unknown countered by the desire to create the familiar (126). Margery Fisher sees the adventure tale as essentially romantic, with its "unusual, surprising, exciting events outside the predictable course of normal life" all predicated on the reality of that normalcy (273). The stock motifs she identifies are "chase and escape," "difficult quest," and "solve a mystery."

The range of action found in adventure tales, as Dennis Butts points out, comprises a blend of the probable and the extraordinary which, in itself, is likely the most important feature of the adventure form. For example, most young heroes are born of respectable parents, never wealthy, but are sometimes poor because of misfortune or an injustice done by a wicked person. Similarly, "The young hero's main characteristic is usually his sheer normality; he is neither particularly clever nor stupid, but has plenty of spirit and common sense" (70). Martin Green senses the range of action in the adventure tale to be

> a series of events, partly but not wholly accidental, in places far from home – most often also from civilization – which constitute a challenge to the person they happen to. In the adventure tale, that person responds to that challenge with a series of exploits which make him/her a hero/heroine, that is, eminent in such virtues as courage, fortitude, cunning, strength, leadership, and persistence. (Great 1)

Only occasionally did Canadian adventure authors write about other colonies of the British Empire situated in the tropics with themes involving jungles, heat, and races of exotic hue. When they set aside the view of their homeland as work-a-day ordinary Canada, their focus on exoticism was essentially limited to the Natives, the French-Canadians, or the weather. Winter, particularly, was exotic, not only for its beauty, but also for its danger, and winter in Canada could last five or six months, or even longer depending on latitude. The snow and ice, the extreme temperatures, the intensity of summer storms, the mountains and lakes and rivers, the spectacular foliage and views, the wild animals in all their variety and abundance—all were beautiful and dangerous. And danger inevitably breeds adventure.

Butts' formula for the structure of an adventure bears similarities to that of the folk and fairy tales, more specifically, the quest or journey formula. At the outset, the hero's virtues are displayed by a minor crisis which he admirably solves. The hero then leaves home and begins a journey involving all sorts of dangers and difficulties, amidst exotic settings, including "the snowy wastes of Canada" (71). Generally, the hero is aided by a faithful companion who attaches him/herself to the hero for the duration, and by some special gift or asset which he either earns or picks up along the way. Finally, the hero engages in a mighty battle against his foes which, it goes without saying, he wins. His rewards are highly material, usually a combination of wealth and honour and, like Ulysses, often the hero completes a circular journey back to his home/castle/land. At its bare bones, the stereotypical characters and the formulaic plots of the adventure are similar to the plots of myths and legends world wide.

In *Seven Types of Adventure Tale* (1991), Green claims to base his categories on the character of the protagonist in each type of tale: Robinson Crusoe, The Three Musketeers, the Frontiersman, the Avenger, the Wanderer, the Sagaman, and the Hunted man. He suggests possible groupings according to geography, nation, history, or topography, but settles on character as being the best for analysis. I do not see character differences as distinguishing one type of tale from any of the others. From one category to another I find uniformity of character to be probably the most notable aspect of such formula fiction. What the characters do, how they carry out the adventure, and what range of actions describe their belief system—these are the identifying aspects of an adventure tale type. Each of the seven types of protagonist seek or pursue something—an object, a person, a place—but when that quest is satisfied, another takes its place in a never-ending pattern. A type of wanderlust starts Robinson Crusoe on his adventures, a longing for freedom causes the Three Musketeers to roam from adventure to adventure, a desire to avoid civilisation prompts the Frontiersman to explore the wilderness, avoid mankind, and embrace danger, the search for the object of his anger charges the Avenger to scour the earth, the near mythical recounting of the wandering paths of individuals and peoples far removed in time from the present fascinates the Sagaman, and the urge to run from all he has or ever will know and love haunts the Hunted man. Green never proposes a list of personal characteristics that distinguish these categories of tale types. I do not think it can be done: an adventurer is identified only by what he does, by his actions. The sum of adventure is action.

The characters are pretty well stock. The reader knows these young men, these hero/adventurers, before s/he has even finished reading the title; the reader has seen them before and likes them. Moreover, the reader is fairly sure about the range of things they are likely to do based on the respectability of the periodical, so the limits to his or her fear level are known in advance. The nineteenth-century Canadian periodical adventure stories, therefore, do not support Isabelle Jan's conclusions about fears a young reader may have in reading adventure tales. She believes that children dread feeling alone with the unbounded freedom that suggests, and for this reason prefer their adventure tales to lead to a sense of security (118-19). Here we have the contradiction of adventure leading to security. In practice, she argues that in order for a child "to enter wholeheartedly into the world of adventure—or that of the unknown—[the child] must be able to forget temporarily [his/her]immediate surroundings, forget, in fact, [him/herself], but children have to see what is going on all the time, what is round about them; they have to be aware of themselves" (119). In other words, while a child may agree to participate in the frightening event which reading the adventure story may become, the child has to know it is not really true, thereby gaining distance and hence, perspective. Consequently, Jan believes that adventure tales are better suited to adults and older adolescents than younger children (127). These observations bring in aspects of the contemporary reading climate, qualities in contradiction to what we find in the nineteenth-century Canadian adventure story itself. The periodical literature shows Canadian tales as having a much higher range of tolerable fear, excitement, and action levels than Jan describes as acceptable to children. Apparently, nineteenth-century adolescent patrons on both sides of the Atlantic relished all they could get.

When Patricia Demers discusses the early Canadian adventure tale, she identifies the genre by both the character and the action of the protagonists, and suggests how these intersect to create suspense:

> The lost children, plucky schoolboys and young soldiers, hunters, fishermen and naturalists whose stories take place in these locales are resourceful and self-reliant, and have close-to-incredible endurance. They are fit matches for the land. In fact, praising the tenacity of youngsters exposed to obstacles like inclement weather, unmarked terrain, rapacious animals, and enemy attack is the unifying motive behind all nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Canadian adventure stories. (Youngsters 16).

While the Demers reference is to six nineteenth-century adventure novels for children rather than to short fiction, her description of character and action is apt. These stories do not coddle the sensibilities of their audience, nor does the short fiction of the periodicals.

Of the several most influential ideologies to appear and recede in the nineteenth century, Imperialism's influence on literature for young adults was pervasive. Far from influencing only the British Empire, Imperialism was *de rigueur* in Germany, France, Belgium, Spain, in short, in all the European states that could afford to indulge their rising nationalism in this way, not to mention the United States and Canada in North America. Martin Green states that "The great adventure tales are those acts of imagination and narration that constitute the imagined communities called nations" (Seven 7). Throughout his book, Green uncovers nationalist or imperialist messages beneath the surface of all types of adventure fiction. He says, "The adventure is about killing, conquering, dominating other people and countries or about building up hierarchies and empires of power" (28). And he gives short shrift to those who object to this violence on the grounds of their peace-loving nature. Only people who have devised a way to build a culture that doesn't rely on such "barbaric" activities, can afford not to think about those deeds and the adventurers who keep us free. In a very real way adventure tales can be seen as a "mythology of moral culture" (30).

Certain earlier theorists, such as John Cawelti in *Adventure, Mystery, and Romance* (1976), saw separate but parallel literary formulas in Adventure, Romance, Mystery, and Melodrama. Others such as William Spengemann in *The Adventurous Muse* (1977) find adventure to be an outgrowth of travel literature and opposite to domestic fiction, thereby comprising two antagonistic literary traditions. Still others explore the problem of where myth ends and adventure begins, as does Paul Zweig in *The Adventurer* (1974). He begins with an analysis of the myth of Odysseus and he continues with the aspects of adventure displayed by later heroes such as Beowulf, Robinson Crusoe, and Casanova.

Despite these critics' differences, they agree that a number of qualities stand out as unique to each genre. Traditional claims present adventure literature as unrelentingly masculine, and domestic fiction as unrelentingly feminine. Adventure involves physical movement through time and space, an externally visible process; domestic fiction involves psychological development to greater levels of awareness or understanding, an internal process not necessarily resulting in visible action. The critical work of Spengemann and Zweig goes far to explicate the binary of adventure and domestic fiction, but the roles of women and men or boys and girls in these two basic kinds of literature are not simple, for women and girls are not always conveniently absent from adventure tales, and men and boys are nearly always contumaciously present in domestic fiction.

Critics often say they believe Defoe erred when he did not end the novel with Crusoe's return to England, a satisfying circular structure. This discomfort with the ending of the story likely comes from the habit of reading English novels which elevate Domestic Romance to a normative position. These critics want to re-write the tale to take care of what they perceive as a flawed structure. But adventure fiction does not bend to a circular form. Instead, Crusoe becomes restless at home and goes on another adventure in his old age, which corresponds to the linear pattern of the adventure tale.

Until recently the adventure genre has been the locus for a kind of critical fuzziness. But the question "What is adventure writing?" is not made for a ready answer. Essentially an adventure tale tells of wanderlust, that deep restlessness which drives a man forward from one event to another. No matter whether the tale involves humans hunting animals or animal behaviour without humans, refractory boys in school or hard-working boys on a job, nature in all its grim beauty or females surviving the perils of land and sea, the same patterns and rules for composition adhere within the variants of all adventure fiction.

In adventure fiction, theme is always subservient to structure. A dramatic tale involving animals and their behaviours and social actions can be a way of fusing natural science with pseudo-psychology for a domestic tale which applauds the return home, or it can be a type of adventure story, all depending on how the tale is structured. A hunting tale which constitutes the re-enactment of the imperial aggressor against the formidable but inevitably weaker colonial can describe an adventure story as well as domestic fiction, again depending on structure. A family at home can be, and often is, the setting for domestic fiction, but the Canadians who contributed to these periodicals did not usually write it that way. They knew adventure, and that is what they tended to write.

Where nineteenth-century Canadian short fiction for young adults is concerned, the distinguishing features of adventure tale types have not yet been identified, for adventure as a major genre has, until recently, been notably neglected. The purpose of my study will be to remedy that neglect.

Short Story Theory in Transition

Since the short fiction encountered in these eight periodicals from three different countries, Canada, England and the United States, and bridging a time period of 67 years from 1847 to 1914, involves a genre itself in the midst of flux and change, I will present some of its more pertinent developments during the period.

The tale and the sketch were highly popular forms of short fiction in nineteenth-century Canada, and as precursors to the short story have many qualities in common with the later-developing genre. Critic Robert F. Marler speaks to this progression when he states, "I propose as a broad hypothesis that the decay of the immensely popular tale fostered the development of the short story as a new genre" (165). He observes that the tale concentrates primarily on elements of plot that unfold with inexorable measure, but leaves the characters essentially unchanged at the end. The short story, on the other hand, has more realistically developed characters who exhibit an inner consciousness. The problem with the short fictional tale in the mid-nineteenth-century, he believes, is that it became laden with stereotypes based on popular values, it tended toward sentimentalism expressed in over-blown emotions and hypocrisy, and it had difficulty escaping didacticism because of its roots in the early religious and moral tales of the Puritans and their successors. Concerning the periodical fiction under investigation here, he is only partially correct. True, stereotypes abound and moral tone remains distinct, but the emotional twaddle and the hypocrisy surrounding inflated ideas, more frequent in *The Snow Drop*, is less present in the late-century periodicals.

The sketch is another particular favourite short fiction form among Canadian writers of the era. In *The Prose of Life: Sketches from Victorian Canada* (1981), Carole Gerson and Kathy Mezei define a sketch as a

> catch-all term for descriptive prose pieces of varying lengths. As a genre, the sketch can be defined as an apparently personal anecdote or memoir which focuses on one particular place, person, or experience, and is usually intended for magazine publication. Colloquial in tone and informal in structure, it is related to the letter, itself a device allowing a writer to be personal . . . .
>
> [It] often takes the form of an eyewitness report, its primary focus is on the scene or event described. The use of anecdote and reported

> conversation further involves the reader, creates an ambience of fiction, and increases the informality of tone (2).

From context it is assumed that an anecdote is a true-to-life happening rather than a fictional account. But this definition includes "anecdote" as a descriptor for "sketch," thus conflating their meanings. According to M.H. Abrams, an anecdote is "the unelaborated narration of a single incident" (193) which would make it the most rudimentary form of narrative when set against the sketch and the short story. A sketch suggests sequencing, and aims to recount reality as closely as possible, to be as near to verisimilitude as the author can manage. Since Canadian sketches were frequently of the "traveller's journey" variety, events generally unfolded along a time continuum, but, in a sketch, this truth to the matter of time is not developed into plot.

The most continuing aspect of short story criticism is one of definition. Exactly how does one describe a short story? By length? Theme? Style? Plot? Sense of time? Relationship to reality? Structural patterns? Universal values? Unity or singleness of effect? All these questions are discussed in Charles E. May's essay collection *The New Short Story Theories* (1994). His Introduction concludes with a list of basic characteristics of the short story explaining how the "historical tradition and the generic shortness" combine to create a form distinct from the novel. He believes that short stories

> are more apt to focus on basic desires, dreams, anxieties, and fears than novels are and thus are more aligned with the original religious nature of narrative. Short stories are therefore more apt to embody a timeless theme and are thus less dependent on a social context than novels. Consequently,

> short stories are more likely to identify characters in archetypal terms and are more patterned and aesthetically unified than novels are. For this reason, short stories are more dependent on craftsmanship and exhibit more authorial control than novels, making them closer to poetry and thus more "artistic" (xxvi).

This definition demarcates the anecdote as comprising the plot elements that form the kernel of most short prose pieces, and recognises a short story as a genre separate in form and purpose from the novel, the sketch, and the anecdote. On the other hand, the short story relies on the presence of both imagination and time, and when the imagination is released on the sequence of events, plot results. A sketch can be written without time much as a still-life painting is drawn, or it can delineate character, but it does not have the action or the emotional complexity of a short story.

Frank O'Connor speaks to the issue of time in *The Lonely Voice: A Study of the Short Story* (1962): "The short story represents a struggle with Time—the novelist's Time; it is an attempt to reach some point of vantage from which past and future are equally visible. The crisis of the short story is the short story and not as in a novel the mere logical inescapable result of what has preceded it" (105). Time and plot, then, have become inextricably linked.

Critics of the short story have much to say about structure. As Steven Cohon and Linda M. Shires remind us, "Narratives require close study because stories structure the meanings by which a culture lives" (1). The ending of the story holds particular fascination, for, in the same way, the ending to any part of our cultural experience overwhelms the significance of the preceding parts.

Poe, as critic, writes of the relationship of the denouement to the plot, or the necessity of winding up the events in a dramatic and artistic manner. In his "Review of *Twice-Told Tales*" (Poe's celebrated discussion of Nathaniel Hawthorne's short fiction), Poe maintains that plot is "that which no part can be displaced without ruin to the whole" (rpt. New Short Story Theories 64). He continues,

> Nothing is more clear than that every plot, worth the name, must be elaborated to its *denouement* before any thing be attempted with the pen. It is only with the *denouement* constantly in view that we can give a plot its indispensable air of consequence, or causation, by making the incidents, and especially the tone at all points, tend to the development of the intention. (67)

Here we have a writerly tip from a famous teller of tales; know the plot thoroughly and write the ending first.

Ian Reid in *The Short Story* (1977) quotes Chekhov on the subject of endings: "Chekhov once remarked: 'I think that when one has finished writing a short story one should delete the beginning and the end.' In discarding patterns of enclosure the short-story writer can perhaps discover a freedom and imaginative truth inherent in this genre" (62-3). Reid interprets this passage as Chekhov ruminating on issues of genre, which, of course, is true, but I think Chekhov was also referring to something a bit different. He, too, was delivering a little writerly tip. When the writer first begins a story s/he has to think through characterisation, setting, and plot, that is, who everybody is, where they are located, and what they are doing. Chekov is telling us that the story can become static when the writer gives too much up-front information, for the story itself provides this understanding in a dynamic, implicit way. Therefore, Chekhov's true subject in this passage is the problem of redundancy, not enclosure.

In a collection of letters written to literary friends, Chekhov writes about the conventions of the short story which demand special treatment of the ending: "My instinct tells me that at the end of a . . . story, I must artfully concentrate for the reader an impression of the entire work, and therefore must casually mention something about those whom I have already presented" (195). While this may arguably be a concession to the expectations of the reader, rather than an identification of the ending as the weightiest part of the story, in a letter to a budding writer after having read his story, Chekhov clearly states his perspective on endings. "I like the whole story, except the ending, which appears to me to lack force . . . ." (197). Chekhov's responses are largely intuitive, yes, but nevertheless valuable for their accuracy of insight.

The American short story writer O. Henry paid strict attention to tightness of plot, but it was his surprise endings that became his trademark. For this reason B.M. Ejxenbaum argues that "By its very essence, the story, just as the anecdote, amasses its whole weight *toward the ending*. Like a bomb dropped from an airplane, it must speed downward so as to strike with its war-head full-force on the target. I am speaking, of course, of the story of action, leaving aside stories of the sketch . . . type . . ." (81). While Ejxenbaum's war imagery in all its Freudian array may not inspire all contemporary minds, it nevertheless conveys an idea of how strong the ending must be.

Closure is also a strong focus in Susan Lohafer's study "A Cognitive Approach to Storyness" (1994). In differentiating between structure in contemporary stories and those of the nineteenth century she observes that "The higher coincidence of closural sentences and paragraph endings in the 'Early' period certainly has to do with well-known features of nineteenth-century stories: the author's more managerial (and expository) treatment of information; the more prominent and clearly-jointed movement of plot" (304). It strikes me, after reading the various authors and critics on the matter of short fiction endings, that what constitutes a closural sentence remains a remarkably subjective matter.

After a century and a half of high concern over the ending, there is a growing tendency to view highly formalised endings as controverting the illusion of real events in real time. It may be that this suspicion of artificiality arises from the perception that they have been arbitrarily truncated, that if the stories were just allowed to continue on long enough to their "true" endings as in the manner of the adventure genre structure, eventually virtue would be rewarded and wickedness punished.

Jean E. Brown and Elaine C. Stephens point out in their text *Teaching Young Adult Literature* (1995) that "While most high school anthologies feature short stories, traditionally, they have not been stories written for young adults; therefore, they are often not stories that youthful readers relate to easily" (38). Quite the opposite situation existed in the nineteenth-century periodical literature we are considering here. The audience for these magazines was unreservedly enthusiastic, for the stories were in every way tailored to the experiences and needs of adolescents.

Theorists of Nineteenth-century Canadian Literary History

Logically, my thesis should now examine the work of various critics of nineteenth-century Canadian young adult periodical literature. In fact, the only discussions to be published to date on the nineteenth-century periodical material found in R. Gordon Moyles' *Canadian Children's Literature* bibliography are those he has written himself. His 1984 article for *Canadian Children's Literature* is entitled "A 'Boy's Own' View of Canada" (41-55) which, as one might guess from the title, focuses on the Canadian content in the British publication *The Boy's Own Paper*. Moyles reviews some common stereotypes and misconceptions made by readers of that highly influential weekly paper and then advances into the actual literature by specific authors. Noting that 90 percent of their tales were set in the North-west, he finds the tales peopled with manly young Imperialist heroes fitted for their role of administering English public school morality and justice to the lesser inhabitants of the Empire around the globe, and with descriptions of Redskins that become increasingly confused with images from the American west. He concludes that the role of this fiction in shaping enduring attitudes among its readers must not be underestimated.

"'Adventures in a Sea-girt Isle': Creating a Newfoundland-Labrador Identity in Early Juvenile Fiction" was published by *Canadian Children's Literature* in 1992 (7-21). Here Moyles ranges through five of the periodicals which published stories and sketches and non-fiction articles on Newfoundland and Labrador, including *Boy's Own Paper*, *The Captain*, *St. Nicholas*, *Young England*, and *Youth's Companion*. Many well known nineteenth-century authors were published in these widely circulated journals and Moyles chooses a few of the more influential (or prolific) to highlight: R.M. Ballantyne, Wilfred

Grenfell, Theodore Roberts, and with particular appreciation, Norman Duncan. Moyles concludes his essay with a series of thought-provoking questions about interesting directions for further study on the topic.[2]

The first major research into very early Canadian children's literature was conducted by Judith St. John. Her 1976 article "Early Canadiana in the Osborne Collection," which appeared in the early days of *Canadian Children's Literature*, investigates the essential matter of inclusion versus exclusion, a subject that has never been resolved. She defines "Canadiana" for children rather broadly to include

> any book about Canada by authors who may never have visited our shores, any book written by travellers passing through our country, any book by short-time residents, books by people Canadian-born even though they have relinquished their citizenship, books by people who have been adopted as Canadian citizens, books with Canadian imprints or identified with Canada by title. (7)

Her definition may be as broad as possible because she was connected at the time with the two special collections at the Boys and Girls House of the Toronto Public Library; however, St. John's inclusion of certain items as "Canadiana" now seems problematic. She claims *A Paraenesis to the Prince* (1604) by Sir William Alexander, tutor to the eldest son of King James VI of Scotland, as Canadiana. The connection to Canada which she pursues lies in the fact that in 1621, nine years after the Prince's death, Alexander was given jurisdiction over Nova Scotia, Newfoundland and the northern section of the United States . . . " and after the coronation of Charles I, Alexander was created Viscount Canada. The article notes that while Alexander and his son undertook colonising efforts for the region, they died insolvent. Frankly, I see no connection between a poem of advice to a dead prince and his teacher's later interest in Canada.

And yet, in St. John's defence, we must consider the rudimentary state of studies in Canadian children's literature which apparently existed twenty years ago when she wrote the article. Her opening paragraph gives a clue to this: "Since you are probably already acquainted with such books as *Anne of Green Gables* and *Beautiful Joe*, I plan to tell you about books that are less well known, beginning with one published in 1604" (7). St. John goes on to describe three instructional books published in the eighteenth century which may have been used for schools. They have proven to be a few among many and, as research in the area has continued, not necessarily the best examples. She lists the first Canadian imprint in children's literature as being a version of *Aesop's Fables* by Robert Dodsley, and then describes five North-west Passage stories, all of which are now well known to researchers of the period. She concludes with the much discussed books by Ballantyne, Marryat, C.P. Traill, Margaret Murray Robertson, and Egerton Ryerson Young taken to be the "classics" of early Canadian children's literature, plus an explanation of the Amelia Frances Howard-Gibbon Medal for Canadian children's book illustrators.

Before the late 1980s when Moyles' work began to appear, the bibliographer and archivist Elizabeth Waterston was the only critic who had addressed in substantial terms the available nineteenth-century children's and young adult literature. In addressing her contributions to the field in her highly informative book *Children's Literature in Canada* (1992), I will make occasional reference to the earlier work done by the team of Sheila Egoff and Judith Saltman. Waterston's book contains a veritable wealth of information about the literature of Canada from its earliest period through to the 1980s. Her contribution should be valued both for its insights into a vast number of children's books and for its latitudinal sweep as to the broad whole of Canadian children's literature. Especially interesting are Waterson's comparisons of an earlier example in a sub-genre with a more recent work in order to see the relationship between the two.

While it gives far more attention to the early literature, especially of the nineteenth century, than does Egoff and Saltman's revised *The New Republic of Childhood* (1990), it must also be acknowledged that the very large area to be covered in a one-volume work forces too great a compression upon the material. Inherent in her methodology itself are several weaknesses, and within her descriptions of the actual literature are various mis-readings and inaccuracies that cannot go unmentioned here because of the book's solitary position in the field, and its consequent significance to the nineteenth-century material my dissertation discusses.

Waterston's book is divided into eleven chapters, which essentially follow genre differences, such as "Nursery Fare," "Traditional Stories," "Easy-to-Read," "Imaginary Voyages," "Problems and Solutions," "Animal Studies," "Girls' Choice," "Boys as Heroes," "Historical Fiction," and "Young Adult Readers: From Place to Space." Joseph Propp warns in his *Morphology of the Folk Tale* (1958) that classifications by sub-genre overlap to such an extent that analysis of such a baggy fit is seriously impeded. Unfortunately, such looseness is probably true both for the present monograph and for Waterston's book! Supposing you were interested in finding out what Waterston has to say about fairy tales in Canada, would you turn to "Nursery Fare" or to "Imaginary Voyages"? Actually they are discussed under "Traditional Stories" along with Aboriginal tales, French folk-lore and multicultural stories. The heading "Traditional Stories" is further problematic because in the 1990s the term "Traditional" is usually applied to the Aboriginal culture, the First Nations, or in the terminology of the nineteenth-century, the Indians.

One result of Waterston's methodology is that no chronology can be established in which broader patterns and tendencies can be seen to emerge and subside. Each chapter is further broken into little subjects sometimes only a page or two in length. For example, the chapter on girls' fiction has an introduction followed by eight fanciful sub-titles with discussions ranging in length from one to five pages: "Domestic Piety," "Girls in Training," "Towards the Green World," "The Imagined Island," "Feminine Archetypes," "Survival," "Surfacing," and "Lives of Girls." Of course, "Survival" and "Surfacing" are obvious inter-textual references to Margaret Atwood's fictional and critical work, but none of them is a self-evident category.

No doubt the sub-titles are catchy, but they seem at times to drive the commentary in and of themselves rather than the commentary being driven by the literature or the historical milieu. Chapter 6 is entitled "Problems and Solutions," with the first sub-heading "Native Virtue." The image of the spiritual Indian has become something of a cliché in the last two or three decades, and the sub-heading would seem to a 1990s reader to be a nod in that direction. Yet the first two books Waterston mentions are *A Peep at the Esquimaux* (1825) and *Northern Regions* (1825) by "Uncle Richard," and neither deals with native spirituality, and only incidentally a very little virtue, contrary to the sub-heading. Waterston asserts that these books "informed child readers of the historic voyages of Parry and Franklin in search of the Northwest Passage and also preached tolerance and sympathy for the alien ways of the 'people of the ice'" (79). This is not true: "tolerance and sympathy" are not what they teach. The work is, throughout, a xenophobic testament to the centre warning their little ones against the subaltern.[3]

As Judith St. John describes them in "Early Canadiana in the Osborne Collection," the two 1825 editions of *A Peep at the Esquimaux* were published "with forty coloured plates, from original drawings, written 'by a Lady.' She was inspired by the private journal of Captain Lyon published in January 1825. The hand-coloured illustrations have been redrawn from his illustrations for Parry's journal" (10). *A Peep at the Esquimaux* has no plot, but is written as a series of verses in rhyming couplets in iambic tetrameter, on aspects of Inuit life that could be supposed by an adult who had seen the exploration literature available at the time.

Northern Regions, a Relation of Uncle Richard's Voyages for the Discovery of a North-West Passage and an account of the overland journies of other enterprizing travellers is the full title of the second book Waterston combines in her brief summary of North-west Passage exploration literature for children. Actually the full title itself is a more accurate description of content than her few sentences connecting this work with *A Peep at the Esquimaux*. *Northern Regions* is divided into four sections, the first and third consisting of Uncle Richard's stories about his voyage with Captain Parry. The second is told by the father of the two boys who comprise the audience, and involves a summary of Franklin's overland journey. The narratives are re-told with no glossing over the savagery of the country or its peoples: hardship, starvation, death, and murder are amply present. Certainly the concept of "Native Virtue" would be an astonishing thought to the anonymous author of these three sections of the book; and again, spirituality is never the subject, for in the sub-title the author sees only savage courage rather than aboriginal virtue.

The fourth section in this episodic tale involves quite a different theme. The tale is told by the oldest child himself, and is a preposterous account of a British soldier who travels alone by foot to Siberia and back to England. It appears to be drawn from atlases and travelogues and to be written with a young boy's view of the exotic and the "other." Fortunately, Waterston does not make anything of its excesses and absurdities in the same way she sympathises with Julia Catherine Beckwith Hart's Gothic, peripatetic first novel, *St. Ursula's Convent, or The Nun of Canada* (1824). In Chapter 8, "Girls' Choices" Waterston describes Hart's attempt as "This naive and charming story . . ." (112). Perhaps her opinion is influenced by Douglas G. Lochhead's laudatory introductory essay to the 1991 edition of Hart's novel by The Centre for Editing Early Canadian Texts which appeared a year before her book was published. I, too, believe that *St. Ursula's Convent* contains "insights into the manners, morals, and mythologies of a real Canadian life" (xxxiii), but only if "naïve" is construed to mean "awkward," and "charming" to be "unsophisticated" do I agree with Waterston's evaluation.

The sub-heading "Native Virtue" ends with an anachronism in the over-view of C.P. Traill's *Canadian Crusoes* (1852). Waterston writes, "With 30 years' experience as an immigrant behind her, she preaches prudence and courage. Traill presents a Darwinian message of change, growth, and adaptation . . ." (80). According to Rupert Scheider, who edited the 1986 CEECT project published by Carleton University Press, Traill finished writing in 1850 whereupon she shipped the manuscript to England to be edited by her sister before being submitted to the publisher. Darwin's *Origin of Species* was not published until 1859, and living in semi-poverty in the back woods as she was, it seems unlikely that Traill would have had access to the book for at least several years to come. Waterston would need to account for the presence of "change, growth, and adaptation" in *Canadian Crusoes* by what were current patterns of thinking in the society at large, for it seems quite certain that much of Darwin's considerable influence was because of his vocalising in a scientific way views which the larger culture had long been eager to justify.

In Chapter 8 on girls' novels, entitled "Girls' Choices," the first sub-heading is "Domestic piety" (113) which includes mention of *Jessie Grey* by L.G. (1870). The author's purpose in writing is to prepare the young reader to accept adversity as God's will. Waterston lists Jessie's trials: her "little sister drowns, her mother dies, and Jessie is sent away to school in Toronto . . ." (113). But Jessie's going to school in Toronto is neither a result of the two family deaths nor a woe to be overcome. The book opens with Jessie planning to go away to school as soon as a certain amount of work in the home is done and preparations and money are available. She wants to go for further schooling to begin with and when she does get to go a year later, it is partly to help her become healthy again after the stress of family loss and over-work, and partly because she desires to improve herself.

Waterston concludes this subsection with the observation, "Nowhere in these early stories is there a hint of rebellion against either divine or parental restraints" (113). She has just discussed three of Margaret Murray Robertson's novels, including *Christie Redfern's Troubles* (1866). Christie's two problems from the first chapter onward involve her conflict with the demanding, perfectionist Scots aunt who took over the maternal role in the family at her mother's death, and her incipient doubts as to whether God exists and of what use prayer is when everything ends up being done according to God's will anyway. These themes carry on throughout the book and their resolution is the entire point and purpose of the novel, including plot, characterisation, and death-bed ending.

Both Waterston's book and Egoff and Saltman's *The New Republic of Childhood* (1990) were in circulation years before *Canadian Children's Literature* published the R. G. Moyles index (1995) which lists the writing by Canadians and about Canada which appeared in four of the best known American children's periodicals and the three most popular British magazines beginning in the late 1870s. Consequently, both of these studies lack the perspective a discussion of the periodical material would have given in the areas of the short story and poetry for children.

This omission significantly affects their handling of the sub-genre of the animal story as well, for it confounds even basic issues such as accepted chronology. For example, Waterston's Chapter 7, entitled "Animal Studies," contains the erroneous statement in the introductory section: "Writing before Roberts and Seton, Marshall Saunders and other Canadian authors . . . " (93). Based on the periodical publications of these authors, Saunders' work is contemporary. *Beautiful Joe* (1894) was published seven years after G.D. Roberts' first story for the American periodicals appeared in *The Youth's Companion* (June 1887). An adventure tale from New Brunswick entitled "Indian Devils" refers to another name given the wild cougars which roamed the area. Approximately seventy percent of Roberts' subsequent stories (up until the 1914 cut-off date for this study) are about some combination of animals alone or animals and humans in conflict, and at least thirty of these stories had been published before Saunders' novel *Beautiful Joe* won its international prize. Waterston does not mention E. W. Thomson at all, perhaps because his primary output is found in these periodicals; nevertheless, his short story collection, the *Old Man Savarin Stories* (1895), was published within a year of *Beautiful Joe*. Ernest Thompson Seton wrote a mere handful of nature sketches for the periodicals in all, but six of his seven pieces were published in the American periodicals before Saunders' book came out, while from the time of *Wild Animals I have Known* (1898) onwards, he published in book form only.

At this point, I must of necessity widen the field of nineteenth-century Canadian literary criticism further to examine the work of critics such as Carole Gerson, R. Gordon Moyles and

Doug Owram, and Patrick Dunae whose major critical works are not limited to children's or young adult literature. Indeed, their writings include analyses of literature for various ages, and their criticism has immediate bearing on our understanding of the cultural milieu in existence during the production of the short adventure fiction which is the concern of this thesis.

Writing twenty-five years after Judith St. John, Carole Gerson examines in her 1991 article for *Canadian Children's Literature* "Women and Children First? Some Observations from the Field" notions of definition in Canadian children's literature which are hauntingly familiar:

> What is a children's book: is it defined by its intended audience or by its actual readership? (And can we know who reads which books?) What is a Canadian book: is it a book published in Canada, or written by a Canadian, or describing Canadian experience? (And who qualifies as a Canadian author?) Is a Canadian children's book necessarily directed towards Canadian children? (6)

(Incidentally, neither Waterston nor Egoff and Saltman in their comprehensive, seminal works address the problem of what constitutes Canadian children's literature.) Gerson's article lets these questions hang as she explores early Canadian women's writing for children, a doubly obscure topic, she notes. She gives a valuable analysis of basic checklists and bibliographies such as Bernard Amtmann's (proceed with caution); R.E. Watters', which does not allow children's books as a distinct category; and Egoff and Saltman's 1990 edition of *The New Republic of Childhood*, which "offers considerable amplification over its predecessor, but still does little more than skim the surface of the past on a quick journey to the present" (7).

Gerson then returns to the inclusion/exclusion issue from a different perspective. While it is rather easy to identify writing for younger children, it is more difficult to decide what is suitable conduct fiction for adolescent girls, a category included in the new sub-genre of Young Adult fiction. In her article Gerson suggests that some novels of Susanna Moodie and Rosanna Leprohon should be allowed (7). Neither Waterston's *Children's Literature in Canada* nor the 1967 or the 1990 editions of *The Republic of Childhood* include discussions of Susanna Moodie's work as children's literature, although they all mention her as the emigrating sister of C.P. Traill. In *A Purer Taste* (1989), Gerson herself discusses Leprohon's *Antoine de Mirecourt* (1864) as adult literature, "a moral survival guide for young women being wooed to transgress the will of their parents" (139). As well, John C. Stockdale, editor of the CEECT 1989 publication from Carleton University Press, makes no mention of Leprohon's work as being included in a sub-genre for adolescent girls, even though the heroine is young and breathless.

Frances Brooke's epistolary novel about the Canadian upper classes entitled *The History of Emily Montague* (1769) is given half a page of discussion in the first edition of *The Republic of Childhood* (1967) and is Egoff and Saltman's first mentioned Canadian book title. However, by the time of her 1990 edition, Egoff mentions the novel in passing only, presumably repositioning it as adult fiction. Both the CEECT editor Mary Jane Edwards and Carole Gerson discuss the novel as adult literature; the book is not mentioned by Waterston. Nevertheless, it receives a paragraph recognition in *Fifteen Centuries of Children's Literature* (1980) by Bingham and Scholt.

Even more problematic is William Kirby's *The Golden Dog* (1877), which Waterston specifically refers to as children's literature. She says that William Kirby was one of the first of the Victorian Anglophones who presented young readers with a picture of the French founders of the nation. *The Golden Dog* presents a political life, a class structure, a religion, and a language all alien and exotic to most English-speaking Canadians (149-50). In *A Purer Taste*, Gerson discusses *The Golden Dog* for approximately six pages as adult literature and compares the novel's view of the habitants with the image found in Hart's *St. Ursula's Convent*. Then she observes,

> By intertwining documented history with popular legend, idealizing a stratified social order, and presenting contrasting extremes of chivalry and luxury, debauchery, and religious devotion, *The Golden Dog* in all its massiveness provided a solid foundation to support the flimsier constructions of Kirby's fellow romancers who were drawn to Lower Canada's local and historical colour. (119)

Despite all the attractions of debauchery, a contemporary young adult reader would likely be put off by the book's length; conversely, a nineteenth-century young adult may well have been attracted by the length and put off by the debauchery. My concern here is that the Young Adult category is one that needs much further attention. Until recently this literature was categorised with women's popular romance, but recent children's literature criticism has begun to highlight the Young Adult novel for critical investigation. For example, the Spring 1996 volume of *Children's Literature Association Quarterly* is entirely devoted to "Critical Theory and Adolescent Literature." Consequently, issues of who reads novels about the mate selection processes of young people become important for an understanding of a socially significant rite of passage, no longer dismissed outright nor doubly marginalised by association.

In her later article "Women and Children First?" Gerson moves instructively through the nineteenth century, outlining various little-known works for children by women authors, and concludes with a list of names which need to be investigated in Sunday-school libraries. She provocatively suggests that "we might examine how the notion of separate spheres extended into the animal story, where men (Charles G.D. Roberts and Ernest Thompson Seton) focused on adventures in the wilderness, while women (Saunders and Savigny) stressed children's humanitarian treatment of domestic animals" (12).

Gerson's book, *A Purer Taste* (1989), avoids the various classification errors of discussion by genre which befall both Waterston and Egoff and Saltman's work. She situates her discussions in ten chapters based on broad topics such as "The Reception of the Novel," or "Problems of Place," or "Approaches to Realism," and throughout presumes a deeper understanding in her reader of literature and of Canadian history than do either the Waterston or the Egoff and Saltman books. Both Waterston's and Egoff and Saltman's work can be read and understood easily by researchers beginning at the high school level, whereas the same reader would likely have a rather hard go of it with Gerson's book on adult Canadian literature of the same period. The difference arises from the language used, the depth of philosophical discussion engaged, and presumptions made about the reader's background knowledge.

Gerson makes no attempt to change the prevailing opinion that Canadian literature of the nineteenth century was essentially conservative and colonial. She ends her discussion of the history of print in Canada by identifying five obstacles generally identified as opposing Canada's literary development: (1) "the country's pioneer and colonial condition," (2) "the ties imposed by copyright laws," (3) "cultural apathy due in part to a necessary preoccupation with material progress," (4) "widespread doubt about the acceptability of fiction as a literary mode," and (5) "diffidence regarding the validity of Canada as a location for fiction" (15-16). But she brings to her study the generous view that more literature of the period would be considered worthy of note if it were placed within a cultural frame, and if the contributions of women's writers were not dismissed out of hand but included in the canon for examination.

R. Gordon Moyles articulates this task in two particularly informative books. His *'Improved by Cultivation': English Canadian Prose to 1914* (1994) is a collection of prose from the Canadian nineteenth-century adult literature which he has grouped into five classes: personal memoirs, humorous/satirical sketches, animal stories, travel/exploration narratives, and short fiction. That Canadians have contributed significantly in each, he makes amply evident; that they are distinct classes of literature, simply is not verifiable. For example, animal stories are frequently short fiction. They can also involve humour and satire, or travel and exploration. Short fiction can be imperialist adventure, the school story, domestic fiction, to name just a few among many other possibilities. But a genre study is never tidy.

In *Imperial Dreams and Colonial Realities* (1988), co-authored with historian Doug Owram, Moyles maintains a high level of historicity and acute literary analysis while employing a language structure that is direct and concrete with less academic language than, say, Gerson's book. Moyles and Owram develop a sense of narrative which crosses sub-genres as they discuss nine stereotypical British views of Canada. Conceded to be an important member of the Empire, Canada was a 'Dutiful Imperial Daughter' whose government and law were created to serve the economic needs of John Bull—Britain. Canada was also the 'Wild and Woolly West,' the exotic wilderness of wild animals and still wilder Indians, the setting for adventure stories. A third stereotype of Canada was as a 'Hunter's Paradise' where sportsmen fulfilled themselves. Canada was also seen as a place of "other" quaint peoples—the old cities of French Quebec. 'A Farm of One's Own' planted images of cheap land with the coloniser as master. Canada was an investor's dream—or nightmare—but nevertheless, a place to send pounds sterling. A seventh stereotype pervading the literature was of the Indian as either a noble or an ignoble savage. Canada was written about as a land in need of cultural refinement, an ideal place for the middle-class British woman to emigrate. The last stereotype was the lack of sophistication in speech, manners, and class. Viewing the literature through the paradigms of these nine stereotypes eliminates the need for traditional genre divisions, and ameliorates the differences between literature as intended for the adult, for the young adult, or for the child.

Differences in view between Moyles and Owram's work and Gerson's do occur. Take, as an example, the matter of how nineteenth-century authors viewed Canada as a setting for fiction. Gerson observes, "Local applause was reserved for writers who shared their community's preference for the unthreatening entertainment of popular romance, and often set the romance safely beyond the borders of their own prosaic terrain" (16). Moyles and Owram do not agree with her that Canada represented "prosaic terrain." In the Introduction to *Imperial Dreams and Colonial Realities*, in speaking of the British Empire at the time of Victoria's Diamond Jubilee in 1897, they describe Canada as part of an empire with "A population so vast and varied—a territory so dispersed—that not even Victoria herself could have comprehended its magnitude and mystery" (1). In Chapter 3, "Hunter's Paradise," Moyles and Owram summarise Clive Phillipps-Wolley's notion of a hunter's paradise thus: "for the man or woman in search of the unusual, the exotic, or what many writers liked to call the 'barbaric,' there was no better paradise than the wilds of Canada" (78).

Other differences occur throughout. Part of Gerson's Chapter 8, entitled "The Old World of America," deals with Quebec; Moyles and Owram entitle their chapter on the subject "'Quaint Quebec': British Views of French Canada." Their aims are quite different, for Moyles and Owram have constructed a social history with considerable depth using British periodicals, journals, travel literature, and government documents as primary sources. Gerson's primary sources are, with a few exceptions, historical fiction, literary reviews, and biography. The result is an entirely different kind of layering of images. The stereotypes Moyles and Owram identify and discuss are most instructive for the present study of Young Adult periodical literature. As the authors readily acknowledge, the nine they identify are not meant to be an exhaustive list.

Patrick A. Dunae's *Gentlemen Emigrants: From the British Public Schools to the Canadian Frontier* (1981) discusses another stereotype in depth. During the last half of the nineteenth century, Britain experienced an acute problem over what to do with the second son of the family. Raised in gentry surroundings with an education in the classics, the same as the oldest son who would inherit the estate, the younger son(s) would inherit no lands, perhaps a dower of some sort as did his sisters, but otherwise he would be penniless. These "extra" young men were very literally supernumerary to Britain's economy and traditionally took a position in either the military or the clergy. As Britain's empire grew, they emigrated to various colonies, and Canada received a generous share of "remittance men," so called by the locals because of the stipend they often received from their families in England. Sometimes disastrously, these young men had no training to prepare them for work of any kind in a new land, yet they brought with them the cultural appurtenances and cash flow needed by the new country.

Dunae's work is a useful study in conjunction with the young adult fiction of the British periodicals because of the way it shows the Canadian side of the problem. Whereas the British authors for young adults explored Canada (sometimes from their arm chairs it seems) according to the stereotypes in which the young man survives amidst heroics, achieves with ease, prevails despite the odds against him, Dunae's history tells a story parallel to that of Moyles and Owram. All three take up the story as a Canadian would tell it, with the young Britishers situated against the harsh realities of life.

Elsewhere Dunae's essays on boys' literature shed informative light on the nineteenth-century periodical literature. In his essay in the collection *Imperialism and Juvenile Literature* (1989), Dunae writes about how boy's literature, fuelled by the myths of "empire" and driven by the combination of writers, editors and publishers, became a sizeable industry for making money during the era of the New Imperialism (13). In "Boys' Literature and the Idea of Empire, 1870 - 1914" (1980) he answers questions concerning how the attitudes to empire varied when the individual authors, editors, and publishers are considered, in regards to matters of empire in the adventure tales for boys, both book-length and magazine-length. And in "Penny Dreadfuls: Late Nineteenth-Century Boys' Literature and Crime" (1979), he focuses on the reactions of clergymen, journalists, and magistrates to the lurid content of the popular adolescent pulp fiction magazines of the day. This historical placement is useful in order to understand better the mores and fibre of both the adult Victorian society of the middle-class, who were doing the judging, and of the lower-class youths, who were doing the reading, of the sensational literature.

It may seem unusual to mention the contemporary work for children *A Pioneer Story: The Daily Life of a Canadian Family in 1840* (1994) as a critical tool, but it is an unusual and highly engaging fusion of materialist history and historical fiction. Author Barbara Greenwood and illustrator Heather Collins have created a book which takes a reader into the "how-to" aspect of mid-nineteenth-century farm life. Intended for the child reader, it is not footnoted, nor should it be, but the lack of a bibliography is a genuine loss, for some significant scholarly work has gone into the book. The very simple story is augmented, wherever appropriate, by illustrations and factual accounts of various farming and household activities. In this way it seems a direct descendent of the nineteenth-century periodical literature, for these magazines contained "how-to" articles on every conceivable subject. The book thus helps to visually inform the periodical stories in a way that a contemporary audience of young readers could appreciate.

The index which R. Gordon Moyles has bequeathed to future students and scholars of Canadian literature will enrich many areas already under investigation by adding previously unknown dimensions to the works of favourite authors. Already it has set before us the names of hitherto forgotten authors whose work has merit that needs exploration. It will also open new areas for examination into studies which were formerly thought to be unproductive, such as poetry or non-fiction for children in nineteenth-century Canada.

NOTES

[1] In the nineteenth-century adolescent periodical fiction under study here, the hero and the adventurer are often found in the same person, but this is not necessarily so in twentieth-century young adult fiction. In the universally familiar George Lucas film trilogy *Star Wars*, equally popular with adolescent and adult audiences, Han Solo is the adventurer and Luke Skywalker is the hero. Critic Francis Russell Hart sees the distinction between hero and the adventurer as an integral concept in adult adventure fiction. He describes the differences between the two: "The secret of adventure is in the willingness to accept what comes (*advenio*) as a gift, a providential revelation, and in so doing gain a larger sense of what is possible. [Sir Walter] Scott's heroes learn this secret; his 'adventurers'—gloomy fatalists or cynical opportunists—do not" (183).

[2] A third article by R.G. Moyles published by *Canadian Children's Literature* in 1990 about the little-known Canadian nineteenth-century poet for children "Ethelwyn Wetherald: An Early, Popular, and Prolific Poet" (6-16) will not be discussed here because the present manuscript focuses on only the short fiction of the periodicals.

[3] The first verse "Character" outlines the "esquimaux" improvidence: "They wander far, without a home,/ Nor e'er provide for days to come," and their crudity, "But their chief joy is, to regale/On meat and blubber of the whale;/The dripping fat and blood to sip,/And in the mess their fingers dip." This, of course, is calculated to send a shudder down the spine of the child reader and/or parent who has been raised on European eating habits. The poem "Diet and Cookery" is further titillation on the same subject:

> . . . greasy hands prepare the stew;
> When filthy objects form the treat,
> . . . Add to the nauseous mess within.
> But dirt and litter most prevail,
> . . . Huge lumps of flesh, in haste he claws,
> And stuffs at once into his jaws,
> Or, wallowing in the filth and gore,
> He seeks the offal from the floor;
> To pick, from the revolting pile,
> What want alone could reconcile.

The poems continue, compounding in xenophobic horror. "Woman" begins:

> The women can no beauties boast,
> Their nose, amongst the cheeks is lost;
> Their eyes are sparkling, black, and small,
> The lips are prominent in all.

The last and longest poem, "Moral Habits, and Ideas of Futurity," deals with the benighted ignorance of the untaught savage whose only virtue is that of bravery plus the rather pleasant notion of an after-life which involves beauty and peace.

Chapter III: Hunting Wild Animals

Canadian short fiction for youth in the nineteenth century involved a number of stringent codes for, as always, it must be seen as a product of its time, even when it apparently transgresses these codes. The cult of manliness, the idea of progress, the meaning of pluck, the myth of the angel of the house, the ideal of respectability, the concept of providence, the cult of empire, the hierarchy of race—all of these topics are found in abundance in the periodical literature for young adults. Of the various possible approaches to this literature, one of the most compelling is to see it in context with its origin, but with a lens to augment or decipher the codes of the era. Even so, many themes may seem jarring or even repugnant, and other important themes may appear so inconsequential as to be not worthy of mention. And unnecessarily so, for a useful first assumption in understanding popular productions of another era is that the bulk of it made good sense to its readers, provided an important emotional or cultural service, and demonstrated at least elliptically a common ethics base. The cultural milieu of Great Britain and the United States, the two powerful cultures impinging upon Canada's identity and sovereignty, is comparatively well researched for this period, while that of Canada is far less examined.

From the fur trade era onwards, Canadians, as colonists from England, assumed their job was to make the old world values work in the new environment. Originality was unnecessary and, in a real way, unthinkable. For much of the first half of the nineteenth century, Canadians cared most about clearing the land and building homes and communities, and only secondarily about educational systems and the cultivation of arts and letters. Nevertheless, Canada at mid-century underwent a transformation of society in many fundamental areas. The political face of the nation took on new dimensions during these decades that would influence the direction of the country well into the twentieth century. Changes in the economic balance between provinces, between urban and rural communities, between professionally trained and the uneducated, all produced a society different in basic ways from that of the early nineteenth century. Further, the cultural result of huge shifts in religious practices affected the way the nation spent its energies toward education and family dynamics.

Britain's early relationship with Canada during the fur trade era, from the beginnings of the Hudson's Bay Company in 1670 until the turn of the nineteenth century, in many respects paralleled the forms of feudalism as many European countries experienced it. But as the fur trade waned, Canada moved toward mercantilism in order to control her own economic destiny. Mercantilism was the economic system which accompanied the centralisation of power, channelled the flow of wealth, and determined the balance of trade as the old feudalistic fur trade patterns fell into disuse. These changes in trade practices significantly transformed nineteenth-century Canadian society. By the 1840s the old mercantile system had begun to collapse, and the gradual shift toward responsible government and nationhood continued inexorably into the 1860s.

One decade before *The Snow Drop* began publication in Montreal (1847), Queen Victoria succeeded to the throne of Great Britain (1837) and began a reign which would see the century out. She became Canada's queen at the same time, too, but by the 1850s, because of the popularity of Little Englandism, and the influence of strong British leaders such as Gladstone, England was well into a retreat from the burdens of empire. England felt she no longer needed her colonies. Canada was no longer an economic advantage to her, either as an outlet for manufactured goods or as a source of raw materials, which had formerly been the case. This policy continued until the time of Prime Minister Benjamin Disraeli's Crystal Palace speech (1872) in which he declared Britain's colonies an asset and empire-building a virtue, and he advocated increased implementation of the imperial vision.

The stories in *The Snow Drop* do not reflect the distancing stance that Britain had assumed with her colonies. Indeed, the inferences that can be drawn from this publication indicate that the conservative middle and upper classes in Canada tenaciously continued to teach their children according to the social patterns in Britain. This included adherence to the same religious values, family structures, and social hierarchies between the centre and the colony. As the political climate in England shifted in favour of colonial possessions during the 1870s and onward to the turn of the century, the periodical literature experienced a shift toward adventure stories reflecting this imperialistic orientation. The opinions of the young were not left to chance: the literature was built specifically with the intent to identify those traits of manliness such as courage, tenacity, honour, and devotion to England and the Empire, which were esteemed most admirable.

At the time the nation's families were reading the first Canadian children's periodical, *The Snow Drop* (first issue April 1847), Lord Elgin arrived as the new governor of Canada. However, his reforms were not enough to please all tastes.[1] Britain moved throughout the 1840s to abolish preferential trade patterns with Canada and to relax formal political control. When the British finally moved to free trade in 1846, the result for Canada was an increase in trade with the U.S, particularly in regards to wheat and timber. By 1849 the Annexation Manifesto was drawn up in Montreal, which asserted the preference of some Canadians for U.S.-style democracy and republicanism. With the advantage of hindsight, we can now see how, by the late 1850s, drastic changes in the political relationship between Upper and Lower Canada were pressing Canadians toward confederation. As some saw it, confederation was a means to solidify, even "save" the country from the Americans as well as the British.

The Snow Drop, in all likelihood, may have been written to ignore deliberately the influence of the United States in Canadian affairs, which included all the compelling aspects of life—trade, politics, and culture—for no hint of Canada's place in regard to the immense contiguous border with this powerful neighbour is in evidence. Certainly there were compelling reasons to look south when teaching children the realities of their native land; instead, the hearts of the people steadfastly looked east across the Atlantic. This, despite the lure of economic advantages for Canada in an alliance with the U.S.

In the following thematic discussions of the primary documents, I will attempt to foreground those ideas which were most prominent in the nineteenth-century periodical literature designed for older children. Some of the situations in which a child encounters an animal are written about so frequently that they seem to be something of a trope. One such is the faithful animal, usually a dog, who saves the life of a child or youth. In 1851 *The Snow Drop* published "Anecdote of a Newfoundland Dog" (II New Series: 114), in which a man, his wife, and their three year-old daughter take a pleasure ride down the river with their friends. The faithful Newfoundland dog follows the progress of the boat from the shore and is so acutely aware of the little daughter that, when she falls into the river, the dog plunges in for her rescue before the parents have even discovered the disaster. The dog fetches her from the depths and lifts her to the arms of her parents in the boat and then swims back to shore to resume his vigil. In this form of the tale the dog is indistinguishable from any other rescuing device—whether human or mechanical, and certainly no struggle for ascendancy between the human and the animal has occurred.

But the story becomes adventure in the hands of a later story teller such as Norman Duncan in "A Dog of Ruddy Cove" (*Youth's Companion* 76: 29), 1902. In this version of the tale, the Newfoundland dog is aboard the punt from which his youthful master is fishing. When the weather roughens the water, they both tip overboard into the sea. The dog obeys his instinct to rescue. Billy vigorously resists every attempt the dog makes, furious and terrified that his former "best friend" now wants to drown him. Only the shouted instructions of the men on shore awaken Billy Topsail to the truth—the dog is trying to save him from drowning if he will just throw his arm over the dog's neck and let him do his job. The ironic humour of the ending does not mask the fact that the tale contains the almost ritual struggle between a youth and an animal for supremacy, for power. In this case the animal is initially perceived as becoming inexplicably wild and dangerous, while the boy's responses are those of a hero struggling for survival.

The story does not end as a domestic romance would, with all safely at home recounting the dangers in the outside world. Instead, "That night Billy Topsail took the Skipper aside for a long and confidential talk" The boy confesses his lack of trust, promises future trust in the dog's instincts to rescue a human in the water, and the story concludes: "'But Skipper, don't you think you might have given me a chance to do something for myself?' At which the Skipper wagged his tail." The dog and the boy are equally heroic in their adventure, but since one partner happens to have verbal ability and the other does not, it is Billy who proposes a pledge that they work together more equitably in future adventures. This forward perspective, this constant direction of focus toward the next event, is a dominant quality of the adventure tale.

From the eighteenth century onward, Natural Science had been a preoccupation of those classes with leisure time available. Amateur pursuits in botany, palaeontology, ornithology, and many other specialty areas became the hobby of young and old, and increasingly crossed class boundaries as the middle classes became more affluent. The tastes of the fashionable and the educated in North America were largely determined throughout the century by societal values adapted from models in England and the Continent. In short, the Victorian era was enthralled with the natural world, an enthusiasm that included not only the British, but also the Americans and Canadians, though with modified perspectives.

Collections of specimens played an increasingly important part in this study, and were carried on by individuals and schools. When a twentieth-century reader learns about some of these efforts, such as the collecting done by the boys in *Tom Brown's School Days* (1857), we think of the nearly irreparable damage done to the environment by such enthusiasms. But ecological impact was not part of the vision of the nineteenth century, for wealthy sponsors bequeathed their fortunes and governments allotted their tax dollars to acquire collections of plants and animals to be shown in zoological gardens and natural history museums. Of course, adoration of nature had already been enshrined in the national consciousness by the poets and artists of the Romantic Movement at the turn of the nineteenth century, with specific emphasis on non-cultivated panoramas, and throughout the following decades interest in plants and animals, particularly the unusual or exotic, remained high.

Some of the greatest explorers during this culminating era of exploration were also naturalists, as John M. MacKenzie notes in his 1989 essay "Hunting and the Natural World in Juvenile Literature" (145). British society valued animal products highly, and although the societal values accorded to such products in a frontier community such as Canada were not parallel to England's, nor to the more developed patterns of the U.S., nevertheless, a long-term market existed for the efforts of hunters and trappers. These men became associated, then, with a sophisticated system which valued exploration and adventure; the wealthy and the educated thus relied on the efforts of humble (even crude) backwoodsmen to obtain the items of their desire or curiosity. The nineteenth-century young adult periodicals reflect these values. In the words of John M. MacKenzie, "Juvenile literature invariably represents the values, aspirations or fantasy life of a contemporary elite" (146).

The magazines were designed to create fictional models embodying high standards of morality and honour to support the moral tenets taught in middle and upper class homes and schools throughout Britain and the United States. The hunting and trapping literature was therefore required to conform to the values upheld by the culture. Of course readership was all-important to the survival of the periodicals, and the key to an adolescent's subscription money (or his or her parents') was through entertainment, through delighting the youth. Joy in some form was not far from the surface of most of the tales in which a young man encounters a wild animal. The thrill of the chase, the power of nature, the beauty of the physical creation—all these are celebrated aspects of the Canadian experience in the tales.

Violence, and the fear of violence, are not far from the surface of those tales either. "Playfulness and violence are always the two faces of adventure"(15). So says Martin Green in *The Adventurous Male* (1993), and so writes the nineteenth-century author of short adventure fiction about Canada.

Hunting was also implicated as part of an elaborate military ethos, according to Robert H. MacDonald (Language 22), which confounded the terms associated with it. He sees the blurring of categories in the following schematic:

war = game
unarmed war = sport
sport = war against animals
game = animals killed in this war (21)

Toward the end of the century, the terms of sport, hunting, game, and war were entirely conflated in the jargon of the Imperialist. Men of Empire saw hunting as a rite of an elite class born to lead. As Hugh Nibley demonstrates in "The Arrow, the Hunter, and the State" (1991), the hunting culture has been part of the royal prerogatives of kings and rulers since time immemorial (10: 1-32). One of the dominant by-products of Imperialism was the active desire of Imperialists to train an elite corps of rulers or administrators who would take over the kingly right to hunt, for wherever they conquered, the British elite created game preserves for hunting to be used by this restricted group of rulers. For them, as well as for the backwoodsman, knowledge of the environment and natural history, physical endurance or stamina to succeed, qualities of character such as self-discipline, hard work, and even stoicism were attributes associated with successful hunters and trappers in the nineteenth-century Canadian wilds. It is ironic, then, how men and boys of essentially plebeian class became associated with a sophisticated system which valued exploration and adventure in itself, for the hunting agendas of both classes existed side-by-side in the periodical tales.

In the sub-genre of the hunting tale, the matter of power is always central to plot and theme. Whether the protagonist is on a hunting expedition, an errand, or merely pursuing pleasure, wild animals are omnipresent. Since the settings are largely rural, the youth is generally armed, usually with a gun, but nearly always with a trusty pocket knife at the very least. He is also expected to encounter one or more wild animals. With little exception, the wild animals in the tale represent the "other"—other needs, other value systems, other means of power, the other side of the settler's psyche, the opposite. The dialectic which Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin see as involving post-colonialism in *The Empire Writes Back* (1989) is actually there from the beginning of the colonial experience: "the matrix of post-colonial literatures [is] the dialectic of self and Other, indigene and exile, language and place, slave and free . . ." (173). Animals, as a voiceless Other, cannot represent themselves; they must be represented. The writers for young adults of this period supplied this representation using all the sincere fervour of the young empire-builder rhetoric of the age.

Margaret Atwood in *Survival* (1972) interprets Canadian animal stories as allegories with archetypal dimensions, and the animals as psychological symbols. Critic Robert H. MacDonald seems to be influenced by Atwood in his essay "The Revolt Against Instinct" (1980), for when he discusses the way in which rational and ethical animals created by Ernest Thompson Seton and Charles G. D. Roberts (two writers generally credited as the originators of the Realistic Nineteenth-century Canadian Animal Tale), he sees a movement toward the spiritual and away from the base instincts, which he believes "provides a mythic structure for what is at first sight, realistic fiction" (18). But realistic fiction, by definition, exists without mythical or archetypal positioning. As MacDonald says elsewhere, a myth "reduces the problematical to an obvious 'truth'" (Language 5). Myths simplify—this is true—but if these wild-animal hunting adventures are really stories of legitimation, do they necessarily operate on a mythic level?

I do not think so. Yes, the purpose behind the stories' construction was foremost and always to socialise youth by engaging their imaginations in riveting adventures, but this does not mean that the Canadian animal tales have the power of myth to organise our society's thinking as either Atwood or MacDonald suggests. While the archetypes they present are common to all literature and are in no way limited to the Canadian experience, and while the adventure genre they exemplify presents a way to live one's life that appeals to the male imagination across cultures and periods of history, they reflect the cultural values of their era rather than imprinting a form and a moral. Paul Zweig maintains that "No matter how the myth is moralized and integrated into a system, the kernel of experience which makes it worth telling and listening to is adventure" (6). Most definitely, the animals in the stories are conquered and colonised reflections of their own and their human contemporaries' cultural and historical positions. But a myth imprints. By contrast, these adventure tales reflect—they reflect their genesis in the colonialist agenda of the last decades of the nineteenth century.

In addition to sounding the colonial theme, the young man's sojourn in the forest or at sea or wherever represents the edge of civilisation, the frontier, is frequently seen as a rite of passage in which the youth returns, or continues onward, changed in some way, older, wiser. Inevitably the youth must face the challenge the animal represents. Wanton destruction is generally held to be an evil in these stories, but killing the animal encountered is considered an act of manly courage. At the end of the tale, the boy as conquering hero returns to accolades by peers or family. The youth has experienced a sense of his own power and emerges validated as a more worthy member of the culture.

One of the best known authors, Charles G.D. Roberts, wrote over two hundred stories about animals according to his biographer Fred Cogswell in *Charles G.D. Roberts and His Works* (n.d.), many of which were published in hard-bound book collections during his life-time. Of the approximately fifty that appear in the children's and young adult periodicals under consideration here, many of them follow the colonial story by reflecting some aspect of the attitudes current in literatures of conquered peoples throughout the British Empire. In his essay "The Animal Story," which introduces the collection of animal tales *Kindred of the Wild* (1900), Roberts writes that man and animal are one in their use of resources and habitat; however, that philosophy is not to be found in this collection of his young adult stories. In real life, animals throughout the century were being displaced, becoming peripheral, being reduced in numbers. Roberts seems to have sensed their disappearance and desired to bring wildlife back into primary focus, but he is unable to write against the grain of his own culture. He continually reinscribes the animals as existing at fundamental odds with the encroaching civilisation. They are always less fit than man-with-a-weapon.

Roberts explains his animal stories as "psychological romance constructed on a framework of natural science" in the above essay (24). To begin with, the term "psychological romance" is an oxymoron. The concept of "Romance" implies a fulcrum balance between good and evil which disallows the ambiguities of everyday life. "Psychological" attempts to account for those ambiguities by referencing the mental, attitudinal, motivational, or behavioural characteristics of an individual or group, at best always a loose fit. Only in the context of the colonial Other does this apparent paradox make sense. If this literature tends to reinforce social polarities between good and evil, or similarly, between man and animal, then the baggy fit of the psychological aspect justifies the existing cultural hegemony of an imperial power over a diverse population.

Let us turn, now, to the stories about wild animals and hunting and trapping that so thrilled the hearts of nineteenth-century adolescents. Under the title "The Eagle's Nest" (*Youth's Companion* 70: 205) Roberts' chapter heading gives an overview of the 1896 story which follows: "A bird's ingratitude. - Two farm-boys have an exciting struggle. - A hazardous encounter and capture." Here, we have the basic imperialist themes in a nut-shell—the moral recalcitrance of the native, the thrill of conquest, and the subsequent exile/slavery of the displaced. The story opens mid-conversation in a farm kitchen. The younger brother informs the family that an eagle has carried off the sick lamb, whereupon the older brother grabs his gun and rushes off to exact retribution for the kidnapping, with the full approval of their mother. In the space of just six sentences, Roberts creates a narrative in which the colonisers have moral right on their side—the lamb is an innocent, a victim, and an object of pity and compassion in its sickness. The morally incapable eagle invades the farm-scene of moral order and commits murder. The colonisers exercise justice by exacting the death of the Other, thus restoring an imposed order from an alien culture, fundamentally opposite to the order of the indigenous colonised which itself required a restitution of the imbalance created between a healthy animal and a sick one.

This violent little opening is in contrast to the next section of the story in which Roberts paints an Edenic setting for this farm on the Gaspereau River in Acadia, further emphasising the pastoral by placing it near "Evangeline's village of Grand Pre." Roberts identifies the pair of eagles in their specific habitat and explains that the farmer values them "for their rarity, and for their majestic bearing." By appreciating rarity and majesty, the farmer sounds tones of aesthetic value, class indicators, and economic advantage at the same time. Colonial imperatives hold true across gender lines, for the farmer's wife has similar reasons for liking the eagles: they "added a certain distinction to the farm," and on a practical level they rid the farm of small creatures.

The story continues: "Such care being taken not to frighten them, the birds began to evince a certain haughty contempt for such harmless creatures as Mr. Rogers and the boys appeared to be." Here we have the first inkling that the colonised do not know their place, do not understand that they are the ones who must be diffident and thankful for any place at all in this new order of things. As an example of this lack of perception, the birds begin to steal clothing from the colonisers in order to line their nest. When the eaglets are born, the parent eagles commit the final atrocious act of reappropriation and kill the colonist's lamb in order to feed their young. The story then returns to the kitchen, where supper is in progress.

Pointing to the dead eagle, Tom asks his father if he could have him stuffed: '"I'd like to give him to mother, partly to make up for the lamb, and to remind her how she was a victim of misplaced confidence. You know, mother," he continued, turning to her as she set the final plate of pancakes on the table, "I always did mistrust the eagles!"' Insert the name of any indigenous group of whatever skin colour or language base found in the wake of the European nation's colonising endeavours, and the same moral inversions occur. The coloniser in the above paragraph sees him/herself as the victim of his/her own virtuous nature in having extended trust to a morally deficient aboriginal. The son asserts his own canny sense of the true nature of the untrustworthy colonial by proclaiming his former and on-going accurate instincts to be correct: the natives are not to be trusted. And with good reason. The colonised the-world-over, or the-forest-through, keep up a guerrilla warfare, wearying in the extreme to the conquerors. Insert the name of any indigenous group of whatever skin colour or language base found in the wake of the European nation's colonising endeavours, and the same moral inversions occur.

The plot continues. The father agrees to have the male bird stuffed, and the mother reasserts, "I hate the ungrateful things, now . . .". The son says he didn't kill the female eagle when he had a chance because the babies would starve, whereupon his mother points out the inconsistency in this stance since the object is to eliminate all eagles, by whatever means. The family debates the humanity of killing nestlings and they decide on a capture instead. A few days later the boys happen upon the female eagle drinking at the river and since she cannot lift off from a stationary position, they capture her with their jackets. Through an error on the boys' part the eagle escapes. The father then joins the boys in an attack on the nest itself. Just as Nat seizes the eaglets, the female returns. Nat breaks her wing and is able to capture her once again in his coat. The eagles are then referred to as Nat's "spoils." Spoils is a warrior's term for what the victor appropriates from the lands of the fallen enemy. "After his exploit at the nest, Nat felt himself the lawful proprietor of the eagles. He made a hood and handcuffs which gave him control of the fierce bird, but finding her untameable, he sold her to a travelling menagerie." Law, then, is based on nothing more than the codes of the conqueror, and yet the terms of conquest seem to have such moral force behind them that Roberts gets quite carried away with the words themselves until the lamb carries a load of religious symbolism: "the sick lamb fell a sacrifice, and . . . the male eagle dropped before Tom's avenging gun." Besides death as a logical end of the colonised, the other possible end to the unaccommodating aboriginal is to be sold into exile or slavery. The eaglets, constituting the second generation colonised, suffer a similar fate. Nat raises the nestlings, tames them, and keeps them tethered in the farm yard on long, slender chains. They learn an "attitude of armed neutrality toward him and toward mankind in general."

To some "The Eagle's Nest" may be merely an unpleasant little story from a colonial past, best forgotten. But the fact of the matter is, Roberts wrote from the mainstream perspective of his generation and even a hundred years after its publication, a certain audience still exists who would read the story from the coloniser's—the farmer's—point of view. Whether the act of colonisation continues in late twentieth century culture as a relic of nineteenth century British imperial influence, however, does not change the nature of the ideology—nor its immediate as well as long-term destructive effects on a less defensible, marginalized group.

Humour can be highly subjective because of cultural nuances and forgotten historical perspectives, yet its universal appeal can also guarantee a story immortality. Think of Lewis Carroll's *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* (1865) and the readers who continue to laugh a century and a half later. Similarly, certain stories published in these juvenile magazines allow the author's talent to shine undiminished by the changing ideologies of the centuries. This observation is true for Charles G.D. Roberts, who was always a successful writer, and sometimes even a good writer. "The Bull and the Bicycle" (*Youth's Companion* 66: 266-67), 1893, anthropomorphizes a bull's alleged thought processes in a manner alien to that of humans, and consequently it is irresistibly funny. Roberts' use of irony is very skilled. For example, the irony of mood depends entirely on the skill of an unknown Nova-Scotia road-maker. At first the road is good and the cyclists are deep into the "romance of history and song," fairly flowing with the poetics of nature; abruptly the road changes to a toilsome top-dressing of loose sand, and the cyclists grumble and fume. The irony of place is also used for humour: "They wanted the bull, and wouldn't find him. I, on the other hand, had found him; and I didn't want him at all"; as is the use of incongruous metaphor: "Against the bench in which he was sitting leaned a bicycle which looked as if it had been in collision with an earthquake."

John Allan Hornsby wrote only one short fiction story, which was published by *The Youth's Companion* in 1907. The story has potential for bathos and anthropomorphism like many others, but Hornsby avoids it. He succeeds in telling the story of a specific dog faced with a dilemma and how the animal overcomes the complication. "Only a Little Malamoot Dog" is a tale of genuine affection between an Alaska miner and his lead sled-dog, who finds an open "lung" of the lake and brings fish to save the lives of the starving men and dog-train.

Arthur E. Macfarlane wrote a series of three animal stories within a three-year period from 1908 to 1910, all for *The Youth's Companion*. Each has a message about how to get along with a circus elephant. The theme of "Chang, 'Ballyhoo' and 'Ballyhoo's' Waistcoat" is an elephant's superior sense of reason (82: 134). The theme of both "Caled's Work" (83: 166-7) and "Bobbaty: The Story of a 'Bad Boy'" (84: 153-54) is that each elephant must find his own true line of work, whether to carry burdens, perform in a circus, or hunt tigers. Macfarlane's writing is consistently understated and humorous, full of dry wit. For example, "He [Caled, the elephant] knew English and half a dozen British-Indian dialects. And like a famous Prussian, he was profoundly silent in all of them" (167).

If Charles G. D. Roberts wrote the colonial story fifty times for the young adult periodical market, E.W. Thomson, the single most prolific of all the Canadian contributors, wrote it hundreds of times over. Many of his tales are well-written, full of action, and a good read by present standards; also, many of his stories are full of colonialist stereotypes from mainstream nineteenth-century culture including imperialist swagger and racist perspectives. He began otherwise, for his first-published stories for the young adult periodicals were largely taken from his experiences as an engineer for a government survey team, and involve working youths and men. These well-constructed, action-packed adventures, guaranteed to thrill the teenage heart of any decade, will be discussed in detail in Chapter VI.

In the year 1891, Thomson wrote a series of stock hunting stories of the "It's a wild animal—let's shoot it!" mentality. "A Surprise" (*Golden Days* 12: 221) is a prime example, but "My First Bear" (*Golden Days* 12: 385), written the same year, is even more blatant. A seventeen-year-old backwoodsman who goes berry picking in the same patch as a black bear, steps on a hornet's nest, and runs wildly through the woods in an attempt to rub them off on the thick underbrush. The bear tries to avoid the ruckus and hides, but as the boy runs along frantically, he jumps over a log and lands on the hiding bear. They are both terrified and run in opposite directions. So far the tale has the makings of a funny bear story, but to this auspicious opening, he adds the coloniser-of-the-forest stereotype. The very next day the boy returns to the woods and shoots the bear: "[I] looked down upon my fallen foe with all the pride of a great conqueror. Napoleon, after Austerlitz, or Wellington, after Waterloo, probably felt just as I did then." The bear clearly equals the indigenous Other in this colonial adventure story.

The list of animals to be shot continues, and Thomson's next story, "My First Deer" (*Golden Days* 12: 653), is fairly dripping with colonial-style testosterone. Immediately following this, Thomson takes us to India for "The 'Griffin's' First Tiger Hunt" (*Golden Days* 12: 829), and yes, all the chivalric codes of the imperial conquerors come to the fore when the village elder humbly requests the white sahibs to shoot the marauding tiger who is devastating the village. What, one wonders, have they done about this problem in all the centuries prior to the arrival of the British? The codes are all in place: the helpless natives turn to the Europeans to save their lives, the villain captures the tiger cubs, the boy kills the female tiger to save the villain, the adult British hunters all kill the male tiger together (quite democratic). The natives are tigerless and happy; the quarrelling British hunting rivals have resolved their differences in a chivalric manner, and the ending jauntily suggests they all carry on until the next adventure.

Stories about youths hunting African lions also interested Thomson, and the various other tales set in India by Charles G. D. Roberts, J. Macdonald Oxley, and Sara Jeannette Duncan are examples of Canadian authors in search of the quintessential colonial story in exotic lands. Meanwhile, British authors such as H. Mortimer Batten, Harold Bindloss, and Argyll Saxby were in search of the quintessential colonial hunting story situated in Canada, where the climate, the aboriginals, and especially the animals were part of the exoticism of a far-away colonial possession. Since nearly a hundred stories are involved in this segment of my study, I will group them according to the kinds of animals about which the adventure centres, for it appears, upon examination, that the greatest differences in the tales are based on the kind of animal involved rather than the periodical it is found in or even the author who wrote it.

Wolf stories have traditionally tingled the spine and raised the hair. From fairy tales to the Bible, wolves have been traditionally synonymous with evil and sin. Not only do they singly blow little pigs' houses down and devour little girls' grandmothers, but running in large packs with jaws slavering, they ravenously hunt down innocent people, young and old alike. They are the ravagers of soft and furry creatures; they are the harbingers of chaos and death in cultures world-wide.

After millennia of such tales, a twentieth-century Canadian naturalist sought to change what he came to see as an inaccurate and unfair image. In abrupt dislocation of traditional tropes, Ernest Thompson Seton wrote to the effect that the wolf is not only fastidious and loyal, but combines an adventurous nature with observable sagacity in his book, *Mainly About Wolves* (1937). Continuing in this new approach to the study of wolves, another Canadian naturalist, Farley Mowat, wrote his ever-popular *Never Cry Wolf* (1963) after a stint in the eastern Arctic in 1957 at the behest of the Dominion Wildlife Service of the Canadian government. Observing that the Inuit respect wolves, Mowat succeeded in convincing several generations of readers that wolves are essentially non-aggressive toward man, and tend to lead good, upstanding, family-oriented (if wolfly) lives. Jean George, in her popular and influential novel *Julie of the Wolves* (1972), would seem to follow the lead of Mowat in her depiction of Arctic wolves.

The century's third naturalist to continue in this vein is the American writer Barry Lopez' *Of Wolves and Men* (1978), a study of wolves in the Arctic. Commissioned by the *Smithsonian*, Lopez' work is frequently held to be the definitive study on wolves published to date, and he, too, dismisses the ferocious, vengeful caricature from prior centuries. Despite the influence of such naturalists, consider how L.Frank Baum allies the Wicked Witch of the West in *The Wizard of Oz* (1900) with a wolf-pack; or J.R.R. Tolkien's depiction of wolves in *The Hobbit* (1937) as a ravaging pack of evil and savagery, devoid of ecological function; or how C.S. Lewis characterises wolves as the opposite of all Christian values in his 1950 novel *The Lion, The Witch, and the Wardrobe* (Ford 12).

The short fiction on wolves found in the nineteenth century periodicals under study here show the literary and cultural traditions to be very strong indeed, particularly among the British contingent who frequently knew about real wolves only through second-hand experience or arm-chair research. Following are three examples. Courtenay Hayes published "The King Wolf: A Story of the Canadian Rockies" in *Young England* (35: 236-38) just prior to the outbreak of World War I and it shows no naturalistic tendencies. To begin with, the setting "amid the barren foothills of the Canadian Rockies" is problematic. Just where this barrenness might be puzzles natives, since one of the notable sights of the foothill area is its beautifully timbered hills. A fifteen-year-old boy and his ten-year-old sister walk to town for groceries unarmed, are delayed, and start home after dark. Upon hearing wolves they take refuge in an abandoned shack and shinny up to a cross-beam for safety. An "evil brute," the King wolf himself, attempts an attack through the glassless window, but gets caught on the remaining nails. "A huge and terrible mask had blocked out half the moonlight, and a pair of phosphorescent eyes blazed balefully in his direction. The hut was filled with a carrion reek, as the wolf's breath rose steaming in the frosty air" (238). Despite his fear the boy beats the wolf to death with a board, certainly an ignominious end for any "King," and about then the father-with-gun arrives to disperse the rest of the pack.

Hardly more plausible, John Mackie's 1912 "The Leader of the Pack" (*The Captain* 27: 505-12) dispenses with the frame and opens mid-conversation with Gray, the mailman, declaring his determination to take the mail to Calumet by snow-shoe, a distance of 30 miles. Despite his friend's warning that a "great grey wolf with the cunning of the devil" is hunting in the area, as evening approaches Gray proceeds blithely on his way. It is late spring and small game appear frequently; nevertheless, when the wolves show up, "they were lank and famished-looking brutes—evil eyed and furtive" (506). When Gray kills one of the wolves, "two other brutes had sprung upon it, and were worrying it to death. Their sudden access of ferocity, their cold-blooded and pitiless malignity jarred horribly on Gray." The adjectives accumulate: "ghastly, dripping snouts," "harsh, throaty snarl," and "howling brutes." Gray must race to a deserted shack for safety with the pack close upon his heels. One wolf enters the shack with him and the man and wolf wrestle: "He rolled with his enemy upon the ground, and the two struggled for supremacy. Always those gaping jaws made for the man's throat" (509). The man wins, of course, and Mackie salutes both combatants in semi-heroic style: "Well fought, O man!--and well fought, O luckless wolf!" It could be Roman verse tragedy or, more to the point, it is British imperialist jargon. In form true to the tradition of the warrior caste, Gray expresses appreciation for the prowess of the vanquished Other: "'Darn me, but you were a plucky one!' said Gray ungrudgingly. It was the honest tribute of a brave man to a game brute" (510). But only the leader of the pack is lauded for bravery; the remaining wolves are dismissed as a cowardly lot.

H. Mortimer Batten's story "Jim and the wolves: The True Story of a Canadian Boy's Pluck and Endurance" (*Boy's Own Paper* 34: 817-18) is fundamentally "Little Red Cap" by the Brothers Grimm set in Quebec, not Germany, with a whole lot of wolves, not one, that cannot tell a grandmother from a sixteen-year-old rescuer. An adored nine-year-old girl sets out for the lumber camp to bring her father, the Scots foreman, his tea, loses her way, and is treed by a pack of wolves. Never mind that on this particular evening there is more than seventy degrees of frost, meaning that the temperature is approximately forty degrees below zero on the fahrenheit scale (the point at which the numbers meet that of the Celsius scale), a temperature at which bare flesh freezes in a matter of minutes. Also forget that there is no necessity for the trip since the lumber camp has a cook of its own. Ignore the fact that in conditions of lightly falling snow, the track of a nine-year-old child would be obliterated in far less than the several hours between the time of her departure and the time of her discovery. The tale does not even follow basic Boy Scout wood-lore training which teaches that wild animals are afraid of fire, for Batten has the wolf jump at the lantern held by the sixteen-year-old lumber camp cookee, knocking it out of his grasp. Next Batten has the adolescent rescuer, Bill, wander into the midst of a pack of wolves at the base of a tree and kill one with an axe before the rest of the wolves notice him, hardly a possibility.

This type of story now serves mostly as a source of humour due to its absurdities, but at the time of publication in 1912 no doubt it had its *aficionados*. The teenage rescuer of the helpless little girl fights off the wolf pack in the style of the true imperialist boy-hero, all the while believing in his own imminent demise. If he climbs the tree to escape the wolves he will freeze to death; if he fights the wolves directly, they will surely over-power him. Yet, rescue comes in time and our hero is carried home to a warm reception, though bearing a severe wound from wolf fangs on his chest and with two of his left hand fingers permanently disabled by wolf jaws.

The tales of wolf-hunting published in the U.S. periodicals usually pay more attention to realism. Canadian E.W. Thomson's 1908 tale, "A Fence for Paravgrad" (*Youth's Companion* 82: 185), is unusual in its sympathetic treatment of the different values of an immigrant minority group from Russia, the Doukhobors, who settled in Saskatchewan on the Canadian plains at the turn of the century. Thomson explains how "the gentle vegetarians of Paravgrad" do not own guns, do not kill animals—even vermin, and pamper both their pets and their beasts of burden. The winter is harsh and starving wolves are rumoured to be raiding nearby settlements. Three brothers go to town for more barbed wire to raise their five foot fence around the village to the seven foot level, which wolves cannot breach, and on the way home are attacked by a pack of wolves. The boys let the horses go first to ensure their safe return, overturn the sleigh for protection, and light straw ropes afire to ward off the attacking wolves until the village elders can come to the boys' rescue. The boys feel compassion for the wolves, and their only condemnation of them is for being meat-eaters, which they believe has brought about all the trouble. Despite this sensitive treatment of Others, so infrequent in the imperialist boy's story of the era, the behaviour of the wolves is described in traditional terms. "Eleven monstrous timber-wolves ran out into full view on the track about one hundred feet behind the sleigh," "furious yowling," "so wild a cry," "the wolves raged in bewilderment," "a mouthful of white fangs, and two fierce eyes glaring down on him" are some of the descriptive phrases Thomson employs.

Frank Lillie Pollock writes of the Canadian woods with both artistry and authenticity in 1905 in "The Moonlight Trailers" (*Youth's Companion* 79: 603), and he writes about wolves with the perspective of the naturalist. A wolf hunter, after pelts in order to collect the ten dollar bounty offered by the Canadian government, steps into an air pocket on the river and drops into the water. He is able to climb out, but his clothes freeze stiff, and before he is able to light a fire the hunter is well on the way to freezing to death. He is only aroused from his torpor by the attack of a grey wolf: "The wolf and the man rolled over each other, struggling with tooth and knife, till the long blade touched the life, and the great gray brute stretched itself out in the bloody snow, kicking." This is naturalism, not sensationalism, and indicative of the new way of writing about animals that Canadians were exploring in this period. While Ernest Thompson Seton and Charles G.D. Roberts are the two names associated with the international recognition given to this new kind of story, other authors such as Pollock were using it to advantage.

One would expect Charles G.D. Roberts' 1893 "Labrador Wolves" (*Youth's Companion* 67: 503) to be an example of a thorough-going realistic animal tale because of his reputation for such, but it is only superficially so. Roberts' frame describes how two men from the Canada Geological Survey are sent to explore an eastward section of the Labrador coast, and discover a local folk culture based on

> the vivid imaginations of the fishermen and sailors [who people the area] with supernatural beings of various fashions, all agreeing, however, in the attributes of malignity and noisiness. Demons and gryphons and monsters indescribable were supposed to haunt the bleak hills and dreadful ravines. Ships driven reluctantly inshore by stress of weather were wont to carry away strange tales of howlings and visions to freeze the marrow of the folks at home. The probable origin of those myths may be found in the fact that from time to time the coast has been ravaged by hordes of gigantic gray wolves, sweeping down from the unfathomed wilderness of the high interior plateau.

As the tale unfolds, the chill of naturalistic description is used for melodramatic purposes in this story of man versus nature. Yet the tale must not be dismissed as yet another unbelievable tale in which wolves are fiends who devour their own wounded and dead, for Roberts' story needs to be viewed as a combination of everything that wolves have ever represented, all rolled into one tale. It opens with a mythology of wolves' inhuman ferocity told in a dispassionate, realistic style as though part of a folk-study. This actually serves to heighten the pitch of the supernatural terrors associated with the subject, thus thrilling the reader with an emotionally charged story of ravaging wolves and brave-hearted men who endure and conquer. The imperialist themes remain intact; the adventure tale unfolds.

Perhaps it is the addition of a female narrator and small children that turns a later tale by Roberts, 1900, "A Terrible Follower" (*Youth's Companion* 74: 217), into a sentimental wash of bathos. The vocabulary is all too familiar: once again, the children and lone woman out late at night are stalked by a wolf who "skulked," who showed a "dreadful form" replete with "cruel eyes" and "long, uncovered teeth," and who was a "sneaking brute, waiting for darkness to attack." But realism, naturalism, it is not.

The tradition of adventure tales eschews any commercial aspect in the plot; however, E.W. Thomson amply supplies this lack in his 1903 "Through the Forest for Life," (*Golden Days* 24: 705-6). The narrator praises the qualities of a favourite race-horse from his youth who snatched a wolf in her teeth and shook it to death, all the while out-running the rest of the wolf-pack. The plot strains credulity past the point of good taste, but leaving that aside, this story suggests that Thomson has entered the community of narrators as a merchant, for it ends with a tally in which the father tells the son that the bounty for the wolf pelts will be enough to buy a new rifle. In the 1912 "Biter's Bit" (*Youth's Companion* 86: 272) Thomson acts the steadfast role of shopkeeper for whom all the wild creatures are worth a dollar amount. When father and son hide under an over-turned wagon to save their lives from ferocious wolves until help arrives, it is not an adventure of valour; instead, the changed location serves simply as a better place for shooting the wolves, an integral part of a business venture. Again Thomson ends his story with a market tally: the father and son have killed thirteen wolves at a bounty of $15 each, less the loss of fish worth $6. They are pleased at their profit margin—a lucrative trip. It is not undue cynicism to see here the underbelly of imperial posturing as a bottom-line ledger balance.

A sampling of wolf stories written throughout the period, such as this, demonstrates that authors used whatever parts of the wolf tradition were most readily at hand in order to create an exciting, gripping story. Despite the liberalising of the fictional content of the periodicals throughout the period, the editors remained highly cognisant of parental attitudes, for parents continued to care about the accuracy of the stories and were vocal in their concern that children's heads not be filled with silliness. Editors responded with the reassuring descriptor, "true-life adventure," which frequently appears in the sub-title. In addition, most of the stories were introduced with a frame structure which appears to add veracity to the events described in the tale by detailing the setting or circumstances for the narrative. Often, but not always, the reader is drawn back out of the story by a return to the frame at the end of the tale. In reality, the authors published by these periodicals were first and foremost "true-life businessmen" who followed the established formulae in order to sell their stories to the magazines whose revenues, in fact whose very existence as an enterprise, depended on their accuracy in determining what would most appeal to adolescent boys and girls.

For various reasons, bear stories do not follow the same patterns as wolf stories. For one thing, wolves are carnivores but bears are omnivores; thus, man is not so clearly a meal for a bear as for a wolf. Historically, bears have a far more varied place in the folk literature of Europe than do wolves, and can as easily embody nobility and various virtues as unmitigated ferocity and brute force. Tame circus bears were a frequent sight in European cities from at least the Renaissance onward, and ferocious wild bears disappeared from most European landscapes by the end of the eighteenth century. Consequently, wild bear stories largely became the prerogative of countries with remaining wilderness areas such as Russia and the northern wooded areas of North America. (No doubt the honoured place of bears in the traditional tales of First Nations peoples has influenced bear-tale production by the dominant culture.)

Running concurrently in nurseries on both sides of the Atlantic, then, were tales of large loveable bears living in primary family structures who inadvertently frighten away small, innocent, golden-haired marauders. Tales of real bears in the woods coexist with teddy bears in the nursery, and both fit into the young adult world somewhere between the antipodes of possible psychic construction as the wild terror of the woods and the domesticated companion of man. No, bear stories do not come from the same symbolic base of evil and fear as do wolf stories; yet they do come laden with cultural expectations.

A funny little bear story by Charles G.D. Roberts, published in 1894-95, "Bruin's Boxing-Match" (*St. Nicholas* 22: 267) opens with a very long frame introduction. Keep in mind that the frame structure so common to all these writers was a device intended to situate the tale within its appropriate community, that is, a community of story-tellers, all of whom recognise the act of story-making as being an important event. As critic Paul Zweig observes, "The narrative act itself arose from the need to tell an adventure; that man risking his life in perilous encounters constitutes the original definition of what is worth talking about" (6). The long frame delays the tale about the bear, the adventure, and builds up the reader's anticipation of it. The long frame also describes the community as being two friends out in the forest splitting downed wood for their fire. One of the pair remembers an amusing anecdote but teases the other to exasperation when he takes all morning to finally get around to telling it. All readers who understand how important it is to talk about adventure will feel a growing sense of frustration right along with the character as the one thing definitely worth talking about is delayed.

When the events are finally told, the humour of the tale comes from several angles: first, the man who knows the funny story is able to capture the other man, metaphorically speaking, in the anticipation of his telling it; and second, the reader knows more than the bear and can see the bear slowly puzzling out cause and effect. Adults sometimes do this with children who are exploring a part of the world the adult feels competent in; the bear and the child are equals in this story. In ways similar to that in which a child can become a colonised Other, so, too is this bear.

Sometimes the bear exhibits only a temporary illusion of filiation with the colonisers before reverting to a former, less domesticated state, as in Roberts' 1904 story "The Return to the Trails" (*Youth's Companion* 78: 220). A black bear cub is captured and sold to a travelling circus where it is trained to perform dances and tricks with the clown. The bear even has a social life in which it makes favourites among the humans: in high regard are the circus manager and his first Indian captor; in low regard is his unkind trainer. But the colonised are ultimately always resistant to the coloniser and five years later when the circus train once again reaches the regions of his birth, the bear breaks for freedom: "Now began for the returned exile two or three months of just such a life as he had longed for." But the circus bear has to be taught by his mate how to be "wild." Apparently Roberts does not consider these skills to be innate, for he states that civilisation has deprived the bear of when to hibernate, of how to walk silently, even of where to find food. What Roberts has described is "regress" since the bear is reverting to a state of nature and thereby losing what civilised behaviour it might have had. Yet, the word Roberts chooses is precisely the opposite: "progress." His choice comes as if by reflex, for it is heavily culturally suggestive, replete with allusions to Darwinist theory, and a world view of things becoming increasingly better, more highly ordered. He writes: "Under his mate's instruction, or else by force of her example, the big bear made some progress in woodcraft, and gained some inklings of the lesson of silence." In order to be favourably read by a nineteenth-century audience, the bear's existence has to be one of "progress." The bear has to be seen ascending in skills in order to be a valued citizen, even as a denizen of the wild.

But the events of the story prove otherwise: the bear is so incompetent in the wild that it forgot its place as it exuberantly joins the camaraderie of a lumberjack camp and is shot dead. This is a dismal enough tale of the fate of the colonised. But it concludes with these words by the lumberjack who shot him first and read his circus collar second (a justifiable order of events only to the coloniser): "I heard tell he was reckoned always kind," an unintentionally ironic eulogy.

Some attribute Roberts' anthropomorphism (so evident in this story) to the romance part of the duality which he describes as his goal, "psychological romance" (Animal Story 24). Nevertheless, a more likely origin seems to be the sentimental fiction of popular culture readily available in the last decades of the nineteenth century. For example, many of the periodical stories of male-derring-do-with-wild-animals navigate between the scylla of bathos (sentimental fiction) and the charybdis of melodrama (penny dreadfuls/gothic novels), the twin rocks on which many a nineteenth-century fiction writer made a fortune and destroyed his/her artistic integrity. Sometimes the writers move toward the sentimental by using a "save the little family" attitude towards prey, but toward predators—the competition—the tales remain that of imperialist master versus the colonised. And when bears and man come into conflict in these tales, the bear is always viewed as a worthy adversary. Sometimes the bear outwits the boy, often the boy kills the bear, and at other times it comes to a humorous draw. But whichever course the resolution takes in this strenuous life, the encounter alone will serve to enhance the boy's growth toward manhood and will increase the measure of respect society pays him.

Frequently bear stories involve humour, a quality never to be found in a wolf story. Canadian author, J. Macdonald Oxley's 1887 bear story “My Very Strange Rescue” (*Golden Days* 9: 53-4) tells the story of how the youngest son of a family of six boys pledges to kill a neighbourhood bear, amidst the teasing of his brothers for such a boast of valour. He sets off with his beloved dog and when they find signs of the bear, the boy climbs a tree to get a better view. The limb breaks and the boy falls into a hollow tree below, which turns out to be the bear's den. The bear first kills the dog, but when it climbs down into the hollow tree after the boy, hind-legs first, the boy seizes hold of its coat and makes a huge noise which so startles the bear that it scrambles back up the hollow tree, the boy clinging to its fur. The bear runs off and the boy lies unconscious on the snow until rescuing family discover him. It is all told with a mind to the humour of the situation rather than the peril.

Similarly, Charles G.D. Roberts' "An Adventure in a Snow-Shed," also published by *Golden Days* three years later in 1890 (11: 253), is a funny story about the narrator's American hunting-enthusiast friend who takes the CPR to British Columbia for the purposes of going on a grizzly-hunt. The vacation nearly over, the friend finally admits failure, whereupon he sits down for a quiet smoke and view of the scenery and discovers the small head of a bear watching him. Still chagrined at his failure to find a mighty grizzly to hunt, the American whacks the bear on the head, expecting the blow to send him packing. The small head, however, belongs to a very large grizzly bear who proceeds to hunt the hunter, both on foot, neither with a gun. The man manages to use his knowledge of trains to advantage, and joins up with other men who represent enough of a threat to discourage the bear from continuing the chase. Clearly, it is not the man's hunterly acumen that causes this victory. Once again, the bear and the man are shown as equals with different survival skills. But in neither instance are evil motives nor cowardice imputed to the wild bears as they are in the wolf stories.

The *Golden Days* story by J.A. Payzant published a few years later in 1902, entitled "Treed by a Bear" (23: 316) opens as a young man and his dog, out fishing for trout in early spring, discover they are being watched with "intense satisfaction" by a gaunt bear sitting on its haunches a short distance away. The boy runs to climb a tree, an action which seems to inspire the bear to give chase. Missing the boy, the bear attacks the dog, but the narrator says: "The humorous side of the affair struck me rather forcibly, though I was hardly in a position to thoroughly enjoy it." Most assuredly not, a modern reader would agree, since the bear forthwith kills the dog and begins to climb the tree. But some interesting psychology is at work in the tale, for again and again the boy tests the bear for savage intent and indicates surprise that the bear is really wild, actually ferocious, genuinely carnivorous—with a decided taste for dog and boy flesh. The boy beats off the bear with a wooden club, removes his fleece shirt, lights it afire, and drops the blaze on the bear's head. In its frantic scramble to evade the flames, the bear drops out of the tree and runs off into the forest, singed hide and all.

Throughout the story bruin is spoken of with respect, in fact, a certain camaraderie, and in terms one would expect in reference to a domesticated animal: "astonish the bear," "puzzled expression came over his face like that I have often seen on a dog's," "the twinkle in his eyes fascinated me," "face expressive of utter amazement." These occur interspersed with moments of acute peril, such as when the bear rakes through the boy's shoe leather deeply enough to draw blood. The bear is a worthy colonial adversary, against which the Imperial boy's necessary nonchalance before danger and his continually good-humoured poise—qualities valued by the imperialist culture of manliness—can be displayed.

John Mackie's 1910-11 story "Between Avalanche and Bear!" (*Captain* 24: 127-31) continues the same treatment of bears in a British periodical. In early spring, a miner takes the short way to town as he goes to buy a fourth share in a mining venture. He stops at a deserted shack to look around and so does a hungry grizzly bear. The bear chases the man with intent to kill, but the telling remains cavalier with such descriptive phrases as "a little angry, human-like grunt," "I was annoyed with the bear," "For the next half-hour that bear and I played the most exciting game of 'Hide and Seek' I ever engaged in in the whole course of my life," and "that idiotic wild animal sitting on its haunches grinning up at me." An avalanche closes the valley, and the miner realises he would have been swept away in it if the bear had not detained him. In joking gratitude the narrator says, "I believe I shouted my thanks to Bruin and behaved foolishly" (131). The last we see of the ferocious predator, "He glared up at me uneasily and suspiciously, then trotted off down the valley as if at last I had revealed a really desperate side to my character." Throughout, the story is told with touches of the farcical. The questions remain: why are bears so often semi-comical predators in this young adult fiction, and why is the terror and evasive behaviour of the protagonist seen as amusing incident? One answer could be that wolves hunt in packs whereas bears tend to be loners. A second answer may lie in the inherited traditions from both Aboriginal America and the Old World.

W. Murray Graydon's 1901 tale "A Terrible Night off Labrador" published in a British periodical, *The Captain* (5: 54-58), focuses less on the humorous circumstances than on the necessity of the situation. It opens *in situ* of the adventure formula plot structure. The first sentence tells us that Quin, the protagonist, has just come from an adventure in Florida and reaches New York City "after a long and tiresome railway journey from Florida, where he had been knocking about for a couple of months among alligators and panthers . . ." (54). Ordinary chaps "knock about" in ordinary places, so any fellow who is bored on a train trip home after living in an exotic setting like the Florida Everglades, and who follows the exotic occupation of capturing live alligators and panthers for a zoo, must be an extraordinary adventurer, indeed. Graydon does not disappoint: Quin's new challenge is to bring home a cargo of live seals and, if possible, a brace of polar bears. During a fierce snow-storm, Quin's host in Labrador tells how he once killed a polar bear who had come ashore on an ice-floe, and forthwith we are launched into how Quin hunts and then is hunted by a polar bear who has come ashore under similar circumstances. There is no doubt at any point that Quin will be successful in his quest, that it will be a fine adventure, nor that that there will be many more to follow it. Only early in the story does Graydon succumb to the didactic impulse, when he subtly instructs the young adult reader about employee/employer relations, for Quin "never counted the cost of serving his employers . . . . " Otherwise, this is pure adventure fiction.

In strong contrast to the good-will meted out to bears, the large predators of the cat family almost never live to see another day. The nineteenth-century authors use a number of names for the various wild cats in their tales, which lends a certain amount of confusion as to what animal, exactly, is involved. The term used most frequently is "panther," but the Canadian tales certainly do not refer to the black phase of the leopard which is found in Southern Asia and Africa.

The modern Canadian naturalist Ben Gadd in his *Handbook of the Canadian Rockies* (1986) lists the cougar, the mountain lion, and the puma as the same animal. His description of the animal corresponds with the illustrations accompanying the nineteenth-century periodical fiction: "a great big cat with a fairly short brownish/grayish coat that is essentially unpatterned. The belly is buff; chest, throat, chin and whiskers are white, the ears are black on the back (but not tufted like the lynx or bobcat), and there is a dark vertical smudge above each eye. Tip of the tail is black" (714). Webster's Third Unabridged Dictionary describes a cougar as "a large powerful tawny brown unspotted cat (Felis concolor) longer limbed and less bulky than the jaguar and formerly widespread over most of the Americas but now extinct in much of the U.S. and eastern Canada—called also American lion, catamount, mountain lion, panther, puma." While "cougar" is the accurate modern term for the predators in these stories, I will, nevertheless, use whatever word the author uses, usually "panther."

When W. Thomson writes about "My First Puma: A Story of Fact" (*Golden Days* 13: 141), he equates the name puma with several other wild cats: "when I was inquiring about the wild beasts to be found in that part of the country, Uncle Eben, among other things, assured me that no "panther," catamount" or "painter"—by all of which names he indifferently designated the American *puma*—had been seen in the neighborhood for the last five years. . . . I knew it at first sight to be a veritable panther." Throughout the remainder of the story the cat is referred to as a "panther." In other tales the terms "puma" and "mountain lion" are used interchangeably, as are "mountain lion" and "panther."

Another equivalent term is "Indian devil." In "Saving the Team" (*Youth's Companion* 73: 685) by Charles G.D. Roberts, "an 'Indian Devil' dropped noiselessly from a branch overhead and bore Andy down into the snow." The Clydesdale/Percheron cross horses pick the cat up with their teeth and Andy "saw the panther writhing in the horses' jaws, clawing desperately." The term "Indian devil" today refers to a wolverine, but clearly this was not the case when the story was written. Consistently in the stories the alternate name for an "Indian devil" is "panther" or "Northern panther."

The several stories about lynxes follow J. Macdonald Oxley's description in "Bagged in Midstream" (*Harper's Round Table* 17: 90-1): "some sort of a wild-cat, the fur being very thick, and of a brownish-gray color: The ears were long and pointed, and had a curious little plume of coarse hairs at the top." The term "lynx" is never used interchangeably with "panther" or any of the other terms.

These ferocious cats are rarely a subject for humour. In J. Macdonald Oxley's 1892 story "Face to Face With an 'Indian Devil': A True Story Retold" (*Harper's Young People* 14: 81-82) the humour is reserved for the three young male protagonists, not the panther. As "untiring explorers of the forest and streams within reach of [their] homes in quest of such possessors of fur, fin, or feather as [their] guns and rods could overcome," these three adventure heroes set out in an earnest, yet comical, procession,

> letting no one know the object of our expedition. We were armed in this fashion: Charlie Peters bore an ancient Dutch musket, warranted when properly loaded to kill at both ends; Johnston had a keen tomahawk, which the Indians had taught him to use like one of themselves; and I carried an old-fashioned smooth-bore shut-gun, dangerous only to small game. (82)

The boys' presence of mind prevails at the critical moment, and they come home with what they believe is the last panther in the area. It is a temptation to judge the late nineteenth-century hunting ethos by the prevailing morality of the late twentieth. We find the boys' victory over the last remaining member of the panther family appalling, given our perspectives on animal extinction world-wide. But we must remember that these mere youths had been socialised into a culture that celebrated man's victory over unbridled nature. Clearing the land of timber to make way for productive farms would obviously include clearing the land of dangerous predators.

The glimmer of humour in Charles G.D. Robert's 1890 *St. Nicholas* story "Tracked By a Panther" (17: 213-16) is wry indeed. He begins with a standard story frame: four friends on a hunting trip are seated around the campfire on a cold night when one of them begins a tale. Roberts' narrator claims he was tending his trap-line one winter when he discovered that a panther was trailing him:

> so polite a conformity of his ways to mine could have but one significance. I was being tracked! . . . It was a very unusual proceeding on the part of an Indian Devil, displaying a most imperfect conception of the fitness of things. That I should hunt him was proper and customary; but that he should think of hunting me was presumptuous and most unpleasant. (214)

Roberts continues his matter-of-fact recounting with other little tid-bits of humour. His special camp preparations for the night ensure that "the Indian Devil could come at me only from the side on which the fire was burning. Such approach, I congratulated myself, would be little to His Catship's taste" (215). But in the end, the narrator uses the language of the imperialist conqueror: "I ate my partridges with a very grateful heart, and slept the sleep of the just and the victorious" (216). There is no hint in most of these tales that it is possible to think about a large game animal in any other way.

Most stories about panthers contain the chase and then the attack, so the adventure quotient is necessarily high throughout. Generally, the characterisation of the hero is fulfilled in fairly stock phrases, more or less code words strung together to indicate the "fellow is one of us," one of the adventuring class. Some stories even blend into our current expectations for adventure, but tales by those authors who took the stereotypes at their barest seem almost impossibly dated. Harold Bindloss is one of these. A British writer who spent a significant amount of time in the Canadian West and left his name on a small town in Alberta's ranching country, his adventure tale, "Lyle's Panther," published in *The Captain* in 1901-02 (6: 352-59), has an unfinished ranch on Vancouver Island for its setting. The manly-hero stereotypes abound, and they no longer wear well. The public school formula for an endorsable hero is one made of "clean, hard grit" who responds in "his own reserved way." The stereotype expands:

> There was a likeness between the two—the gaunt, grim-faced bush-rancher, who, well trained in England, had come out to help in hewing the future of a great province out of the redwood forest, and the young naval officer, who, looking very boyish, soothed the dog. Both had the same steady eyes, and on their bronzed faces the stamp of fearlessness, though one gave orders in uniform, and the other, dressed in hide and flour bags sewn by his own hands, swung the axe ten hours daily, or tramped behind his plough-oxen down the long furrow. (356)

When Bindloss describes his countrymen as "well-trained in England" it is difficult to know whether he writes in response to a social difficulty his countrymen had brought upon themselves, or in oblivion of it. In fact, at the time of this story, Englishmen were the butt of some derision in Western Canada for their inabilities in practical matters. Some store owners went so far as to add the caveat to the "Help Wanted" signs in their windows, "No Englishman Need Apply." Many Englishmen who emigrated to Canada were second or third sons of the peerage who had been given a classical education, but who, under the British laws of primogeniture, would inherit no lands or titles. While the cash infusion into the local economy by their presence was welcome, they, themselves, were noted for their social snobbery and their inability to meet most employment challenges on the frontier (Dunae, *Gentlemen* 124). It is hard to imagine how any young man could be well-trained for a Canadian ranch experience such as this, so alien to what England could teach him. But such matters seem not to have concerned Bindloss. Essentially, he could have set the same story in any number of continents where British forces held sway, with very few changes needed: a tiger in India, a lion in Africa, a panther (cougar) in Canada—all are exotic locations in which intrepid Englishmen are expected to respond heroically in accordance with the codes taught them in the public schools Back Home (England).

The many panther stories contained in these periodicals traditionally speak of the panther as a cunning, savage brute who must be exterminated. Even the relatively few panthers who get away are not shown to have any endearing qualities as have the bears, but the panther is never written of as the diabolical menace found in the wolf stories.

Moose and others in the deer family have their own associated qualities in the young adult adventure fiction. Interestingly, while deer-hunting is frequently mentioned in the tales, it is generally an episode of secondary importance. The young man shoots a deer and a partridge with about the same level of trepidation; a deer-hunt is rarely the focus for an adventure. Hunting for deer or elk often occurs as part of the frame for an adventure story, or may serve as the excuse for the young man to be out in the wilds where adventures happen in the first place, but another kind of calamity, perhaps one involving nature or contact with some sort of predator, constitutes the actual adventure portion of the tale.

An example of this structure occurs in "My First Deer " (12: 653-54) by W. Thomson, which appeared in *Golden Days* in 1891. The deer is dispatched at the top of the second column. Then begins the adventure part of the story which involves a heavy snow storm for te boy to survive, and a "great wolf" for him to shoot. Five columns later, Thomson ends it all with a description of the boy's newly-won status with his friends and summarises the boy's earnings from government bounties, both patterns already all too familiar in Thomson tales.

"The Old Flintlock Rifle" (*Golden Days* 13: 284-85) is equally unceremonious about the killing of the deer. When the hero sees the two does and buck lying in a thicket, he is initially so taken with their beauty and innocence that he "almost hated to disturb them" (284). But disturb them he does. With the fat doe dead, the real adventure occurs when the boy comes back for the carcasses and finds two large lynxes eating them. Of course he kills them both. While Thomson's hunting stories tend to be more realistic than those of many others, particularly authors writing from England who seem to have only passing acquaintance with Canadian woods and animals, yet it seems incredible that he could expect the reader to believe that he actually piled the deer and the two lynxes on his horse and that the horse could carry such a load, and that the horse would carry a load smelling of predator.

Part of the interest of the story is suggested by the title, the old flint-lock rifle which the boy sneaks from his father for the hunting episode. Thomson personifies the rifle, and places the time of the event as before any game laws existed in Canada. Consequently, at the successful slaying of the lynxes the narrator crows that the boy is "as proud, I may venture to say, as Napoleon after the battle of Austerlitz" (285). Once again we have the stock situation in which the animals become an enemy army to slay in honourable battle, and the hunter becomes the model of the conquering military hero. Despite this, Thomson offers information about the size and weight of the Canada lynx pair, "called by the country people 'bobcat,' 'catamount,' and 'wildcat'"(285) as from one naturalist to his fellows.

Compared to a deer, a moose, on the other hand, is considered a formidable foe, a significant adversary. Contact with a moose is definitely the stuff of adventure, and H. Mortimer Batten is the author to give it to us with his moose-hunting tales published in *The Captain* from 1910 to 1914. "The Lone-Shack Moose" (24: 498-502) is a very funny account of a huge moose who traps itself in a hunter's shack with the two terrified original occupants hiding under the bed. "The Corral of the Black-Maned Moose" (28: 14-20) tells with droll humour how two bull-moose outwit a large party of men out to catch one of them live for the Toronto zoo. "Long Jackson and the Moose" (30: 532-38) gives the account of a tame moose and a villainous Indian named in the title.

All three stories contain plenty of action, moose, and men, and despite the action, both the moose and the men live to see another day. But there the similarities end. The moose in the first tale is a lone wilderness creature baffled by his encounter with mankind; the two moose in the second tale are essentially family men whose primary instincts surround their protective obligations to the females; the moose in the third story is really just a gigantic dog who protects its child-owner from villainy. The purposes of the stories vary as well: the first is primarily to entertain, the second shows how animals are greater in sagacity and moral purpose than their would-be human captors, and the third demonstrates how a good animal and an equally good boy can work together for the moral and physical regeneration of an evil man. We can only assume that all three tales were equally well-received at the time of publication, but very likely only the first two stories would interest a current juvenile reader. Both are written with humour, and the second story also sounds some of the ecological values of the late twentieth century as it casts a doubtful eye on the rightness of removing a large mammal from its natural habitat to a city zoo. The third story, which describes the moral redemption of a fallen man by a child and his ungainly pet, tends to have a very limited place in juvenile fiction at the end of the twentieth century.

Charles G.D. Roberts published his one moose story in the U.S. periodical *Youth's Companion* as "Answerers to the Call" (80: 445-46). A few months later it appeared in the

British periodical *Young England* virtually unchanged except for the title which became "The Story of a Moose" (28: 222-224). His frame device for this tale is a poetic description of the night woods. Given the tendency of present day adolescent readers to ignore nature description in preference to action, one wonders if such a frame would have held interest for young adults in 1906. The tale closes as the moose "trotted off into the mystic confusion of shine and shadow," a lovely sentence, regardless.

Between these bucolic book-ends, the tale launches into a statement of the hunter's code of ethics: the backwoodsman hunter "might, of course, have adopted a surer and lazier method of hunting by staying where he was and imitating the call of the big moose's mate; but this seemed to him gross treachery, and little short of murder. He would almost as willingly have condescended to snare the noble beast whom he gloried in overcoming in fair chase" (222). His ethics do not prevent him from mimicking the female moose's call when he wants to flush out a bear who intends her as prey, nor do they prevent him from taking advantage of the female's own mating call which will lure the bull moose to her and into the sights of the hunter's gun. So we see that a hunter's ethics is a finely-tuned matter! When the moose is engaged in a mortal battle and it appears that the bear will win, the hunter makes other inscrutable value-judgements: he kills the bear although he hadn't been out on a bear-hunt, and he allows the moose to walk away although the object of the hunt had been the moose in the first place. According to the contemporary naturalist Ben Gadd, a moose's only predators are man and wolf packs, although "a grizzly is strong enough to take a weakened adult [moose], as is a cougar [panther]" (735). Why the bear would attack a vigorous young bull, and what reasons there might be for the backwoodsman's choices, then, remain a mystery.

This sort of resolution at first glance seems to give a slight naturalistic coldness to the story, but in reality, the entire tale is sentimental in conception. The cow moose, for example, takes up her call for her mate and imagines how he will come to her. He could come "rushing up noisily, defying all peril, and flinging his challenge abroad . . ." or, he could "come silently, and give no hint of his coming until he stood beside her on the beach" (223). The young bull moose is treated anthropomorphically in the closing scene: "For a moment he stood staring and shaking his head, drunk with his imagined triumph. Then discretion whispered in his ear. He turned away sullenly, with one last, regretful look at his foe's battered body . . ." (224).

Traditionally, Roberts' humanising descriptions are said to be the reason the reader comes to care about the outcome of the story, for in order to have animals be adventurers they must carry a moral equivalent approaching that of a human. In fact, this humanistic quality about the animals in the hunting fiction is another compelling reason to believe that the animals and the hunters are playing out a scenario of the coloniser and the colonised. The sturdy young male Imperialist narrators speak and act without any awareness that they are the interlopers in an untameable world. These young colonialists never question their right to control the land nor the wild animals living upon it. Such issues were simply unthinkable.

In strong contrast to the imperialist hunting ethos of the stories discussed above, are a very few stories which break with the prevailing hunting and trapping philosophy. E.W. Thomson's story "Mrs. Durand's Backrobe," written in 1902 for *The Youth's Companion* (76: 50-51), is one such. Young Mrs. Durand and her husband are paddling their canoe in a wilderness area of Quebec when they hear child-like screams that remind her of her little brother recently taken to France for special medical treatment. This, of course, establishes the class of the protagonists as being in the small percentage of the wealthiest citizens. Like others of her class, she desires furs, and has given Chief Josef the order to prepare a backrobe of bear pelt(s). (The function of a backrobe, incidentally, seems to be equivalent to the modern stadium blanket.)

When the Chief identifies the cry she heard as being the pain of a bear cub caught in one of his traps, the city couple hike up the mountain to release it. The description of its suffering is specific and emotionally wrenching, but is written without the excessive language which often attends subject-matter involving pain and suffering. "His trapped leg I found to be broken and twisted as a towel is twisted in wringing it; the edges of the bone had torn the muscles and tendons to a fibrous pulp." Chief Josef notes that a small bear is of no use for a backrobe, but shows them the foot which a larger, more suitable bear had bitten off in order to escape another trap. The husband and narrator for the story says of his wife:

> She turned away, hit hard, and so pale that I put my arm around her to help her down to the canoe. Without a word we started – there seemed nothing to say. But when we had paddled a mile she stopped the stroke and turned her head over her shoulder with, "Leroy, did you understand about trapping *before*?"
>
> "I didn't realize what it meant to the animals."
>
> "I'm glad you didn't—or I shouldn't like to think I'd married you," she said, in a conclusive tone.
>
> Since that day she has never worn fur.

The wife's newly acquired antipathy for trapping takes on a moral dimension as she investigates her husband's stance on the issue. She feels her own repugnance so intensely that, clearly, had he not experienced the same revulsion, their relationship would have been jeopardised.

An earlier story, also by Thomson, "Three Days at a Pigeon Roost" (*Golden Days* 13: 93-94; rpt in 1903, 24: 465-66), opens with the question: "What has become of the wild pigeons, formerly so abundant?" The author estimates they formerly numbered in the hundreds of millions and formed a staple item in the early pioneer's food supply. He considers whether too many may have been slaughtered for food, or whether they have changed their habitat to avoid man, but determines another answer for the demise of the passenger pigeon:

> No, the wild pigeons have died off – have become nearly extinct, and, in my opinion, the reason is not far to seek. Their nesting haunts, always located in the heart of dense forests, or in the depths of great, dry swamps, have been swept away by the axe and fire of an ever-encroaching civilization, and the harassed birds, finding no safe retreat in which to rear their young, have simply ceased to reproduce.

This serves as the frame for the story which follows, set sixty years earlier in Upper Canada. A party of men and boys make an expedition to the closest pigeon roost and *en route* have a number of adventures with the wild animals making the same pilgrimage for the same purposes. In addition to bagging smaller game animals, the group kills three wolves and four lynxes along the way. When they arrive at the roost they see a vast flock which covers thousands of acres of trees. The hunters merely sweep them off their perches with sticks in order to make their supper; they are so easy to kill that it is considered a waste of gun-powder to shoot them.

The next adventure involves the capture of a little bear cub who is promptly rescued by its perturbed mother. The narrator claims that the dam gave the old man "a playful stroke on the cranium with one of her fore-paws, sending him incontinently to grass and leaving the top of his head smooth and bare as a well-washed white turnip . . . . from which not one single drop of blood flowed." Whether this anecdote was given any credibility at the time of publication is hard to ascertain, but it certainly has the smell of a tall-tale a hundred years later! The hunting group return to their homes laden with cured pigeons as well as fresh; meanwhile, the pigeons fly off, their numbers increased because of the birth of the young despite the depredations of man and animals. A last little tale supports this contention, for in late summer the boy has to try to rid the wheat fields of the passenger pigeons before they eat up the grain harvest. And a difficult time he has of it, too! The author then returns full circle to his original theme and once again asks the question, "What has become of them?" And of course, sadly, we know all too well: they are extinct.

The structure of the tale is highly episodic. Each part could have been amplified to a greater extent to increase the length and to heighten the adventure aspect of the tale. As it stands, the circular pattern created by the identical opening and closing questions, is an illusion. In actuality, the pattern of action is from one event to the next, in the linear adventure mode. The theme is entirely familiar to the twentieth century. How sad it is that no naturalist or government agency took up the question when *Golden Days* published the tale, for who knows, perhaps the tale of the passenger pigeon would have had a different ending.

Two of Frank L. Pollock's stories published in *The Youth's Companion* in 1905 and 1906 are actually anti-hunting tales. In both cases a young photographer goes out to the woods seeking animals to "shoot" through a camera lens. The earlier story, "The Flash-light Hunter" (79: 403), tells how the photographer wants to use an intense light to photograph animals in their customary nightly adventures. Soon he witnesses a duel between two bull moose in entirely too close quarters. His own life in jeopardy, he does manage to get the photographs he desires, but in the end, all the best ones are ruined in the scuffle. The second story, "Jack-Light and Flash-Light" (80: 321), explains that a "jack-light," or a "flash-light hunter" is one who carries a bright, intense light for night-time hunting "in defiance of the ethics of sportsmanship and of the Canadian law . . . . Murray had often heard this mode of hunting described. The deer stands fascinated, seeing nothing but the mysterious gliding light, while the hunter sees only the glimmering reflection of the animal's eyeballs, which form his target." The young boys in the canoe think that the photographer is big game and repeatedly shoot at him. Finally they come close enough for the photographer to grab one boy and tell them not to shoot him, but they are so frightened by their "big game" that they club him on the head with a paddle. Although he recovers within a week, "the adventure left him with a powerful and lasting repugnance to killing wild game. He had had too intimate a glimpse of hunting from the wrong side." Nothing could be further from the hunting ethos so prevalent throughout the period.

For similar reasons, perhaps the most distinctive of Frank Lillie Pollock's adventure tale plots involving bees is that of a lone employee of a lumber company who is out in the woods checking on timber stands when he is shot through the back by a bullet from a "modern long-range, small-caliber rifle," the bullet exiting via his chest. The protagonist of "The Bee-Line" (*Youth's Companion* 82: 29) experiences a fascinating sequence of sensations and understandings and attempts to save himself by finding the route out of the woods. But despite a compass, the man walks in a circle. In despair

> He fell flat among the weeds, and lay there for a long time, in terrible weakness, part of the time in a sort of stupor, and sometimes full of resentment and rage against the stupid recklessness of men who go into the woods carrying rifles with an effective range of two miles.

Lying there he happens to see some Italian bees gather pollen from near-by flowers and then fly off. He knows they can fly at the most about two miles distance from the apiary and that their route back will be direct. In this way he charts the bees' course exactly and soon finds himself in the backyard of an apiarist who drives him to town, thus saving his life. The tale ends with a moral: "the wound, although cured, left him with an incurable antipathy against the use of long-range rifles in the woods."

We from the late twentieth century may want to celebrate these familiar themes and herald the authors as prescient precursors of the modern era. I suggest caution. These tales are anomalies and comprise only about one percent of the total. The remaining 99 percent of the tales reflect the values of their age—at least those of the gentry class, the educated professionals, and the monyed businessmen—in a highly straight forward manner. In the words of John M. Mackenzie, "Juvenile literature invariably represents the values, aspirations or fantasy life of a contemporary elite" (146).

These hunting tales reflect the exuberance of youth, *joie de vivre* to the fullest. In real life, hunting cannot come without violence, mortal wounds, pain, blood, death—hardly what the young adult periodicals advertised themselves to be upholding. But in these tales, the gore is background; in the foreground, only the thrill remains. Action, fear, excitement—this is the stuff of adventure, the language of Empire, the lexicon of the colonialist.

NOTES

[1] The same year that Victoria became Canada's Queen, the Rebellion of Lower Canada against British rule was brutally crushed. Similarly, the Rebellion of Upper Canada in 1837-38 resulted in the reformers being overthrown. Lord Durham's subsequent Report of 1838 contained several recommendations: the colony of Canada should be allowed more self-government, the members of government needed to be responsible to the citizens who elected them, and Upper and Lower Canada needed to be united in order to improve trade and balance out the bills which had arisen from the building of canals in the earlier decades of the century, notably the 1820s. The report went into effect as law in 1840 as the Act of Union, with the first Canadian capital in Kingston, and the official language English. Not until 1848 in the Emended Act of Union would bilingualism be authorised; not until 1857 would Queen Victoria designate Ottawa as the future capital, nor did it become such until 1865. Meanwhile, the Assembly was equally divided between English-speaking Upper Canada and French-speaking Lower Canada, the two cultures being renamed Canada West and Canada East respectively.

Chapter IV

Adventures in History

On both sides of the Atlantic the sign of a well-read, educated person in the nineteenth century was his or her grasp of an historical perspective. As short story critic Wendell V. Harris observes, "The historical consciousness was so great that it has been said, not altogether facetiously, that the nineteenth century discovered history" (182). History was such a popular subject that periodicals for children and young adults carried versions of historical tales both to entertain the child and to satisfy the parent. Sir Walter Scott set the pace and whetted the adult appetite for historical adventure, and the young adult novelists followed suit. R. M. Ballantyne, W.H.G. Kingston, and G.A. Henty wrote historical adventure novels for young adults, both voluminously and influentially. Critics have wondered only half in jest how many generations of English boys learned their history from adventure novelists instead of from school texts. History could become a central theme for fiction writers, at least in part, because parents were satisfied that if it was historically based, then the reading of fiction was not a waste of time. As a result, historical novels were frequently serialised in the periodicals, and short fiction on historical subjects became an important variant of the adventure tale.

Martin Green notes the meticulous research it takes to write historical adventure as opposed to some surreal novels that would take no historical research whatever. "The adventure writer could thus plausibly claim to be—from a historian's point of view—more intellectually serious than his literary rival" (Seven 5). So it is with a sense of the ironic that one must observe the traditional hostility of canon-makers in the academy to adventure fiction, which so frequently employs historical subjects. One might well ponder this conundrum: If the adventure novel is male-oriented, its writers almost always men, and men dominate the academy both as faculty and administrators, why then does domestic fiction, written equally well by both women and men, involving female characters as frequently as male characters, have the reputation of a higher level of excellence than its all-male counterpart, adventure? The answer might lie in the kind of institutions which schools and universities are at their core: arenas for thoughtful, contemplative analysis, alien to and opposite from the various bastions of physical activity and movement that spawn adventure writing.

"Always historicize! is the one absolute and 'transhistorical' imperative of all dialectical thought" (9). This is possibly the best known phrase of British historian Frederick Jameson, and his aim is story. Thus comes the supposition that story and history are interchangeable terms. My observation is this: perhaps sometimes, but not necessarily. If the story in the history is embedded in spaces and silences to the extent that only a trained and expert few can even recognise it (note the analysis of the "Annals of Saint Gall" which Hayden White delivers in *Content of the Form* (1987) as mentioned in Chapter I [32]), then story as a cultural artefact has become too rarefied to cause popular impact. The elements of story would then be present in the same way that form in post-modern late-twentieth-century music could be said to be always already present. But adventure tales by definition contain the well-known aspects of narrative, and that they should illuminate historical events is an unquestioned assumption of both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

History was thought to be a pedagogical essential at mid-century when *The Snow Drop* was being written in Canada for other Canadians, and it figures strongly in the types of stories printed. Borrowing freely from sources in England, which was unquestionably seen as the centre of culture, and unabashedly working to establish a duplicate centre in Canada, the editors used history in various guises to instruct all manner of lessons. Originality in either form or content was unthought of; home was England, and revered. The French had established a separate cultural tradition in Canada, and since a largely declining and illiterate Native population was not figured into the reading public either, *The Snow Drop* reflected the ideological centre for the socialisation of children in this period. It contains numerous anecdotes from history ranging from page-filler items of a few simple sentences which might identify an historical figure by country, date, and a memorable fact, to the origins of a particular product such as glass or paper, to a blurb on a well-known historical event.

Some of these can be quite entertaining, such as the anecdote about "Catherine of Russia" (II: 81). The author, apparently a singer, writes that Catherine and her prince enjoyed inviting musicians to the palace to perform, and would then follow up the performances of the professionals with impromptu *buffa* performances of their own in satirical imitation. The author particularly enjoyed the great Catherine's impromptu duets with the prince in which she would hiss and yowl like a cat, and become a "greymalkin" before the eyes of the entire court. Unfortunately these promising anecdotes were not developed into full-fledged tales which included plots.

Occasionally the anecdotes can be morally ambiguous—yes, even in the ultra-conservative bastions of mid-nineteenth-century middle-class Canada. "The Emperor and

Chrysostom"(III: 214) is a very short vignette in which the Emperor becomes enraged with the churchman Chrysostom and asks his courtiers for suggestions of how to get revenge. They offer the well-known methods. The final courtier to advise the emperor is more clever; he suggests: "Force him to commit a crime . . . He fears but sin." Unfortunately, we are not given the climax to this tale—just the complication. Therefore, no cause and effect can be established in which a reader can see whether the evil plan brings the downfall of a good man and honour and glory to a villain, or whether the evil plan will injure the perpetrator alone. For a child with an interest in the transgressive, as almost all children may have at some time, one can only wonder (with a certain amount of amusement) how such a story passed the strict censorship of the editors.

From the first volume onward, *The Snow Drop* presented earnest historical non-fiction, and each attempt drew closer to short fiction. Volume I contains ten instalments about explorers of Canada that deserves the negative criticism it generally garners for its cloying tone and its presentation of chirpy facts in a "talk-down" mode as though the youthful recipient were a house pet. Volume II presents episodes in the history of England in non-dramatic, dialogue format, "Conversations on History." When the editors again present Canadian history, it takes the form of a series of letters from "H" to "My Dear Harry." The entries include some surprisingly frank admissions of injustices perpetrated by famous explorers against the aboriginal population. The "Early History of Canada" series (I, New Series) involves a modicum of characterisation and a rudimentary plot line: the explorers do things which bring about a consequence. But the tales are not yet historical adventure fiction.

As Martin Green notes in *The Adventurous Male* (1993), when things just happen to a person it does not necessarily make these events adventure. "Adventure is . . . those series of events and ideas in which [power] is pursued, achieved, developed" (11). Volume II sees some real beginnings in the adventure tale structure in which power over others and control of one's environment become the mandate for heroism. "Regulus and the Serpent" tells of a Roman battalion at the time of Pliny which encounters a 120-foot snake that emerges from a river and kills the soldiers who are waiting to engage the Carthaginians in battle. Finally Regulus summons all his means for war-making, succeeds in killing it, and has the skin sent to Rome as a trophy (232). This tale definitely makes use of "power" but, like so many of the other anecdotes in *The Snow Drop,* it is written with an eye for brevity, as though the periodical was designed to serve in a small way the same purpose as an encyclopaedia.

"Hazardous Enterprise" approaches the development necessary for a genuine adventure tale (II: 271). An English youth (still in his teens) is sent by his brothers to infiltrate the Italian silk trade, gain their secrets, and bring them back to England so that the family can challenge the superior Italian silk exporters. The young man is aided by an Italian priest, dons a successful disguise, and secretly copies the machinery used for the manufacture of the highly prized Italian cloth. He escapes back to England, and all goes well for a time until a beautiful Italian woman comes to England, visits the family, and poisons the young man.

After scores of historical anecdotes in which a moral is firmly planted at the end, if not suggested paragraph by paragraph, this story is startling in its stark realism. The tale is left to stand on its own, no moral addendum attached. So what if the hero steals and lies; so what if the tale involves revenge and murder? It is all for the cause of family and England. After all, who could say it was not important for the British to compete in world markets for silk manufacture? The stock characters, the action, the intrigue, the daring—all are the stuff of adventure. But the overwhelming message is less buoyant. No grief or even a sense of loss is expressed for the youth's short life, spent in an illegal and immoral quest to buttress the family business. It is as though his success benefits primarily England and secondarily his family to such an extent that his life takes on aspects of a martyrdom. His life has not been wasted but sacrificed for a greater good, a moral evaluation that tends to repulse a modern western reader taught to value individual life at all cost.

A more extended historical adventure tale appeared in seven instalments of the 1852 *The Snow Drop*. "The Early Voyagers" (III and IV, New Series) carries a setting in 1548 at the port of St. Malo, France, with Jacques Cartier's three ships lying at anchor. A hearty fisherman, Pierre Meillard, longs to go on the adventure and at the last moment takes along his wife Annette and their three children, Lucille, Jacques, and Marie. Upon landing, Cartier raises a flag and claims the land for France but, the author adds, "The rights of the poor heathen native, unfortunately, were not consulted, or considered of any consequence" (III New Series: 136). The cast of characters includes several natives and the author does not resort to the stereotypes of either "noble" or "ignoble" savages. The Indians were at first friendly and helpful, but after Cartier kidnapped several of their chiefs for display in France, the natives became hostile and planned their revenge upon the settlement.

The father and son continue with Cartier, exploring inland along the St. Lawrence, and then returning to France for the winter while the mother and daughters continue the homesteading process on Newfoundland. When her husband leaves "Annette threw her apron over her eyes and burst into tears." This gesture is not maudlin sentimentality as so often occurs in domestic fiction of the period; it is an honest expression of the woman's grief, dislocation, and fear. Descriptions of the fort and the settler's activities abound, but the layering of details about the New World forest is comprehensive, for natural history was passionately held to be as worthy a topic for study as history. The young squaw who ultimately helps restore the kidnapped children to their family is shown to be kind and sensitive. That she learns the French language suggests that from a very early date the expectation was in place that natives would be taught and assimilated.

How this tale of gripping events could be told in such a relaxed narrative manner without ever engaging the reader's emotions is a marvel in itself, for the story has the stuff of which high adventure is made. Instead, the author chooses the pastoral mode, highlighting the scenery of the New World, and the resulting story is less than memorable. By way of comparison, the aforementioned anecdote "Hazardous Enterprise" is told with a sheer compression that heightens its adventure qualities. It is possible to imagine the same story told with a background of excursions through art galleries, and picnics with the priest to dull the adventure aspects. If "The Early Voyagers" had been told with an eye to drama, focusing on the many adrenalin-producing events it already contains, no doubt it would have been a more thoroughly satisfying adventure story.

The historical adventure tale for young adults did not remain a static literary mode throughout the remainder of the century. The *Snow Drop* years had occurred in a pre-Civil War, pre-Canadian Confederation cultural climate for an essentially agrarian, extended-family based economy. When next Canadians began to write for the periodical market, the audience had changed, literally. For one thing, the periodicals were being published in the U.S. and Britain, so the audience was literally "foreign." Then, too, by the 1870s the U.S. was entering what came to be called "The Gilded Age," a time when fortunes were made and lost quickly, when families with "old" money carried less moral weight, and when expansionism was seen as limitless, whether of Empire for Great Britain, or of the West for the U.S. On top of this, Canadians were not yet advanced enough in their sense of cultural autonomy not to feel intimidated by the cultural values of these two older, richer, and more prestigious societies.

A few historical adventure tales about Canada began to appear in the British periodicals from the 1870s and onwards, but given the market for historical adventure that existed in England, it seems surprising that *The Captain*, *Young England*, and *The Boy's Own Paper* did not publish a great deal more. Robert Michael Ballantyne had begun publishing his historical adventure novels for young adults, some of which included a Canadian setting, at the time of *The Snow Drop*, and he continued production throughout the 1880s. George Alfred Henty began publishing his novels of imperial adventure for boys in the 1870s, some of which were set in Canada's past, and continued to produce them by the score until approximately the First World War. At a time when historical adventure novels for boys were enormously popular, it is a curious thing, indeed, that spin-off from this overwhelmingly large interest did not generate a more substantial body of historical short adventure fiction about Canada for publication in these British periodicals.

The British were interested in tales about Redskins, fact or fiction, historical or not. That some were set in the historical past may have been more or less incidental to their purposes, but I prefer to discuss a selection of these tales in their historical context here, reserving others to examine for their racial stereotypes in "Adventures of English Lads and Others." W.A. Buchanan writes in 1901 about an old-timer he had met twenty years earlier. The frame for "Old Sol's Tomahawk" (*Boy's Own Paper* 23: 679-80) establishes the date for the tale as about fifty years prior to 1881, a time when Indians were "on the warpath" and the hope for safety lay in reaching the fort. As eighty-year-old Sol remembers it, he and three young friends go to the closest town for provisions and four kegs of gun powder. On the way back they are captured. Essentially Buchanan's tale is a 'save-the-day' story; the young men arrive with the powder in time to save the fort, hurrah. The information, "Injuns in these days always killed their prisoners—generally burning them at a stake after cutting them about with their tomahawks and knives. I could tell you tales on that subject that would make your blood boil . . ." (679), seems calculated to make young adolescents shiver with delighted fear. But this delicious dread follows strict class markers. The difference between *The Boy's Own Paper* and the shilling shockers is that the *B.O.P* hints at atrocity and lets the reader's imagination supply the detail, whereas, the 'bloods' describe in lurid detail the mutilations and blood spilled.

There are differences, though, between how the British write about the Red Man and how North Americans view the subject. The stereotypes each employs will be discussed in greater detail subsequently, but differences in the observation of realistic detail directs the present discussion. The encounters with Indians in the U.S. periodicals parallel the other hunting stories very closely as to accurate description of survival skills and environmental forces—albeit one is of humans hunting animals, and the other is of humans hunting one another. But the realistic setting serves as camouflage for the racism underlying the U.S. tales. The British authors, by contrast, have less mastery of the details of natural habitat and ethnic conduct, which makes the racism in their periodicals seems far more stark to a contemporary North American reader.

In the nineteenth century inaccurate history was tantamount to a besetting sin. Fiction still required an excuse to exist, and unless some didactic value could be found in the tales for young adults, many parents remained resistant to imaginative literature. Without the grounding which history provides, parents saw the author meandering as though blind-folded, from time to time bumping into one commonly taught cultural prescription and then another, all for the purpose of a ripping yarn of flimsy construction. Whether historical accuracy increases a tale's popularity with young adults is quite another matter. Will Carlos' tale "Wah-he-Nau, the Horse Charmer" (*Boy's Own Paper* 36: 726-728) carries the sub-title "A True Indian Story, related by Moonbeam, a Brave of the Ohitus, to the Writer," which tells us that in 1913-14 the veracity of the account is still an important issue to the editors. And yet, by detail, by incident, and by logic the accuracy of the tale is in question from the first line.

The problem of date cannot be resolved: if it is contemporary as the sub-title indicates, this is not the sort of Aboriginal culture that existed on the plains just prior to the First World War. The problem of language is anachronistic: if the date is late, why would the Natives be using snippets of early-modern-English such as the formal pronouns "thee," "thy," and "thou"? If the story is set in the time when "the buffalo vanished from their plains" and caused the starvation of all his people but him, it would have to be the 1870s. But this would be too early a date for the general Christianization of plains Aboriginals in Western Canada such as the Blackfoot, which the tale suggests existed, since it includes an intertextual reference to the Old Testament story of Ruth and Naomi and the somewhat out of context use of the famous phrase "thy people shall be my people" (Ruth 1: 16). Furthermore, the plot is illogical: if no other braves but the hero could sit the first two mustangs which the young man captured by his "charm," then how could the six braves sent out with him to investigate his ability to "charm" horses, sit the next six horses he charmed and ride them home with no problem? All in all, this is not history, even if it is adventure. Instead, it is the noble savage stereotype—all varnish, and no truth.

On the American side of the "Pond," *St. Nicholas* and *Harper's* published a very few pieces of Canadian historical adventure while, in great contrast, both *Golden Days for Boys and Girls* and *The Youth's Companion* published numerous historical adventure tales about Canada. The historical events most often chosen usually involve either a natural disaster or a war which caused a certain set of events to occur in the life of a young male protagonist. In addition to a number of pieces centred on well-known events in Canadian history by authors from Canada, Britain, and the United States, Canadians authored several stories about the War of Independence, the War of 1812, and the American Civil War, as well as many tales about conflicts, skirmishes and outright wars world-wide in such far-flung countries as India, Martinique, Cuba, the Nubian desert, the Nile, Russia, the Chincha Islands (Peru), Patagonia, and Alsace-Lorraine.

Both articles in *St. Nicholas* are explanatory narratives without dialogue by Julian Ralph: "A Pig That Nearly Caused A War" (15: 371-4) and "Old Chief Crowfoot" (17: 328-30). Very much in the mode of traveller's sketch, they are told in the first person and involve interesting historical items learned on a recent trip. Neither sketch builds the dramatic episodes it contains into the plot of an adventure story.

In the case of J. Macdonald Oxley, a prolific Canadian children's writer who contributed to most of the seven periodicals both in England and the United States, the setting is Martinique Bay in the Caribbean during the Napoleonic wars. *Harper's Young People* published Oxley's historical adventure story "Dick of Diamond Rock" in three instalments during July of 1891. Two boys of contrasting physique and disposition find themselves aboard a military ship bound for active duty in the West Indies. The captain takes a hundred men plus the two boys to establish a garrison on Diamond Rock situated at the entrance to Martinique Bay where they will await their discovery by the French fleet.

The story opens with a description of the protagonist's well-proportioned and energetic physique, written according to the prevailing codes. Masculinity as an ideal at this time had come to embody the highest levels of sportsmanship, chivalry and patriotism, as Jeffrey Richards observes in his Introduction to *Imperialism and Juvenile Literature* (2). This model had grown out of a rougher, cruder ideal of manliness which had been dominant in British society until Romanticism and the revival of the medieval code of chivalry stirred the gentler sensibilities of large numbers of the most influential classes. The more boisterous form of manliness not only

> involved physical prowess, courage and endurance, but also drinking, gambling and brutality. This older ideal was centred on such cruel pursuits as prize-fighting, cock-fighting and dog-fighting. Appealing as they did to all classes, and linking in particular the aristocracy and the lower classes, these pursuits were seen as democratic, patriotic and a source of national strength. (6)

These activities were evident in both the United States and Canada in the early part of the nineteenth century as well, and Oxley's description of Dick is not entirely without hints of this older ethos. Remnants appear despite the efforts of activists for Evangelical moral reform, Temperance movements, universal elementary education, suffrage, and societies for the kind treatment of animals, to curb the displays of cruel manliness and elevate those qualities of chivalric manliness—selflessness and idealism—which were also part of the code.

The only other boy in the crew, Arthur Tenderly, is slight, shy, and pale, and has been sent by his father to develop into this ideal of manliness by association with brave sailors. The boys explore the tiny island and prevail in the initial test, their encounter with the deadly *fer de lance*, in which luck or God saves Dick from the snake's first strike and cutlass-wielding Arthur saves him from the second. His valour established, Arthur more or less disappears from the story. Yet his inclusion seems to be a direct literary allusion to the young-adult foil to the protagonist of *Tom Brown's School Days* (1857) by Thomas Hughes, an early school-boy story in which the Arthur character is the sickly as well as saintly lad destined for both death and apotheosis.

Manliness is an important ingredient in imperialistic fervour, and the story contains massive amounts of both. Right from the beginning Dick displays pluck and brightness. Despite his apparent youth and inexperience, of all the sailors he is the one to invent a clever way to move the supplies from the British ship to the top of the rock by means of pulleys and ropes which the captain, an older man, praises. His concern for fair play reveals another admirable aspect of Dick's Anglo-Saxon manliness. The British can fire from the rocks at the top of the island down onto the ships below, but the French ships can't fire that high and take a terrible drubbing. Dick believes that to continue their volleys on an essentially defenceless foe would be unsportsmanlike. The Captain tells Dick in short order that the French are the King's enemies and to keep firing on them. This removes any twinge of conscience Dick may have had, and he returns to his post with vigour, for obedience to orders is also a sign of manliness.

Dick's manly qualities are further confirmed when the hundred older men—sailors and marines—heartily approve Dick as their leader during the French siege. As the siege wears on, Dick and his cohorts keep up the struggle with good cheer. Even though Dick understands that the French will ultimately triumph, he urges his men to continue their defence:

> "The more trouble we give them, the better terms we'll be able to make," said he, shrewdly, and everybody saw the soundness of his reasoning . . . . The courage displayed by all was beyond praise. They knew they were outnumbered ten to one, that their ammunition was giving out, and that their supplies of water and provisions would soon be exhausted, and yet they fought on undauntedly, causing their assailants to imagine that their strength must be far greater than it really was. (643)

We see one of the dicta of the literature: the British are superior in courage, tenacity, honour, and valour. And a valiant youth (Dick) leads them on.

This compulsion to show the British as more clever, indomitable, and sturdy than their weaker foes continues to unfold as a strong imperial impulse, and the plot moves from one adventurous escapade to the next. At times Oxley achieves a most unnerving duality of narrative tone, for the genuine anguish of thirst, heat, hunger, fatigue, and fear is repeatedly set off throughout the story by the narrator's tongue-in-cheek chuckle over Dick's Manly Little Imperialist stance. For example, reasoning that the heat of the tropics and the numbers of the French are both against the sailors, Dick determines to raise the white flag of truce before nightfall so he and his mates will not be slaughtered in their sleep. The terms of surrender are largely Dick's, but the narrator intrudes his own voice to observe: "For sublime 'cheek' (no other word can fitly express it), it would not be easy to parallel these conditions of capitulation in martial history" (643). Oxley continues his smirk, for when the terms were delivered by an older sailor, "The Admiral could not repress a smile as he read the cartel, it was so magnificently audacious in tone . . . . [nevertheless he] assented to the conditions of capitulation without any modification . . ." (643). Of course, the intended audience recognises Dick's audaciousness, cheek, pluck, endurance as part of the code of manly conduct required for a true imperial conqueror.

Throughout the story the narrator calls the French names, slang perhaps, but nevertheless terms of denigration: "Johnny Crapeau" (607), "frog-eaters" (642), and "Boney" in reference to Bonaparte (622). Yet part of the cult of imperialism requires that the enemy be a worthy foe, an equal, one who plays by the correct rules of war, for there is no glory in a dishonourable victory. Despite the name-calling, after the final struggle and truce, the narrator treats the French with respect, thus enhancing the valour of the British in having prevailed against them for so long.

> When the French saw the number of their opponents, and realized that for three days and two nights this handful of men had defied the utmost efforts of a powerful fleet supported by thousands of soldiers, they were at first silent with astonished admiration. Then the gallantry that distinguished their nation broke forth. What mattered it that these bronzed, haggard, weary men, who seemed to be under command of a bit of a boy, were their hereditary enemies, and had just cost them many lives, and done them

> heavy damage? They were true warriors notwithstanding, and so, snatching off their caps, officers and soldiers with one accord sent up a cheer that awoke the echoes of the farthest crag. It was the sincere tribute of brave hearts to brave hearts, and many an eye in the garrison dimmed with tears. (644)

Sentimentality, as we see here, is not reserved for domestic fiction. It is a mind-set of the era and appears in liberal doses in the most manly genre of them all—the adventure tale, and in the most masculine of all credos—imperialism.

But Dick has yet to collect his rewards, beginning with an accolade by Lord Nelson himself: "God be thanked for boys of your mettle! Never will our dear mother England cease to be mistress of the seas while she bears such sons. You take rank as Sub-Lieutenant from to-day" (644). Dick goes on to do it all in a manly manner: he writes his mother [a character never mentioned until the last two paragraphs] with "trembling eagerness," spends a week with her while on leave, and eventually achieves the rank of Admiral, still retaining the nickname "Dick of Diamond Rock" (645).

What is the appeal of this adventure story for a youthful reader? The reader has the chance to live vicariously a rambling, roving, journeying life. Secondly, a young boy can experience violence at a distance—a good fight, getting ahead by one's wits and strength. Thirdly, there is no thrill like that of power thrust upon the deserving. A small boy leads the might of men, with all the weight of mythic tales behind him in which a rustic boy prophet leads warriors into battle. And finally, the youth imagines himself doing it all with dignity and style. How a thing is done matters as much as the end result of the action; winning or losing matters far less than the style in which it is executed.

What cultural values are being taught? Most notably present is pride of country—the British are best. This, despite Oxley's Canadian birth and citizenship. Here he eliminates all colonial sensibilities; he writes as a full-fledged member of the Centre. Another cultural value is the conflation of invigorating manly sport and actual physical violence in which they become one and the same. A famous poem of the day by Henry Newbolt, "Vitai Lampada," from the collection *Admirals All* (1897), contains the repeated line: "Play up! play up! and play the game!" War is the subject, game is the euphemism, and both inevitably end in honour and advancement. Best of all, from a youth's point of view, is the implicit message in this tale that the valour of youth outweighs the experience of age. A mere boy can "make the difference" and receive honour from the highest naval authority in the land.

Twenty-four years after "Dick of Diamond Rock" first appeared in *Harper's Young People*, author J. Macdonald Oxley expanded it into a full-length novel entitled *Diamond Rock; or, On the right Track* (1915) published by T. Nelson & Sons in London. The expanded version was not an improvement. The extra dimension simply allowed Oxley to wander a bit more with the by-then stereotypical characters and take them on further superfluous episodes. Perhaps Oxley had read a little more history, because in this version Lord Nelson delivers his blessing to Dick by "laying the one small delicate hand that was left him upon the boy's shoulder . . . . " whereas, in the earlier short story, Lord Nelson "Laying both his small delicate hands upon the boy's shoulders, and looking into his blushing face with inexpressible tenderness and pride" blesses him in the same words as the future novel was to retain. The horrendous battle in which Nelson is killed (The Battle of Trafalgar) concludes the novel, but Dick survives and returns to England to be honoured as a war hero.

Perhaps the biggest difference between the novel and the short story is not a matter of length, nor whether Oxley hoped the book would help British morale in the World War I war effort; rather, it is Oxley's misunderstanding of the requirements of true imperialist fervour. The short version seems to allow a certain playfulness on the boy's part, a swagger that is less than grown-up, a feeling that the author is allowing the juvenile reader to imagine his heart's delight at a safe distance. The novel feels heavier, as though the author now intends to have us believe it all, that this historical adventure can somehow be turned into a recounting of a real occurrence. The result is merely ponderous.

E.W. Thomson's historical adventure tale "In Skeleton Pool" (*Youth's Companion* 64: 418-19) was published in 1891, but set in the summer of 1865, twenty-six years earlier, in the Brazeau River area. Thomson establishes the veracity of his narrator by describing the exact location of the story with details so specific that the reader imagines it would be possible to recognise the landmarks: "Tower Island" which divides the Brazeau River in two; "Devil's Elbow," its main channel; and "Skeleton Pool," its largest eddy and almost certain death to the unwary. The protagonist is a first-year apprentice land surveyor put under the direction of a likeable former alcoholic chief surveyor, and all goes well at first.

In the tradition of adventure story structure, the small early trial which the hero successfully negotiates in order to establish credibility for pluck and loyalty occurs when the crew of ten become too drunk to manoeuvre in the river. Yet, with the help of one sober crew member, the young surveyor manages to help direct the rowers into the safe channel. The major crisis of the tale occurs the next morning when the still-drunken chief takes a crib of logs to "Skeleton Pool" in a deliberate challenge to the river. The surveyor, foreman, and crew devise a way to rescue the chief surveyor whose fate otherwise will be to whirl round and round the pool until the crib of logs breaks up from the strain. The chief surveyor gestures in such a way that the crew on the river's edge believe he is praying. Yet, whether by an act of God or by some fluke of nature, the whirlpool lets the crib go, thus sparing his life (118). The hero and the crew have acted bravely, but they must share their heroism with the forces of nature, for the river holds the greatest power. As we shall see, this phenomenon happens again and again in Canadian adventure stories—man may do much, but nature controls destiny. The tale ends with the chief surveyor's pledge of abstinence as a life-long commitment. The effects of alcohol are such an integral part of the adventure plot that the temperance theme, often used for domestic fiction at the time, does not alter its standing.

Turning, now, to a story Theodore Goodridge Roberts (younger brother of Charles G. D. Roberts) published just before the First World War, we discover what constitutes the quintessential colonial story. "The River Islanders of Yesterday" (*Youth's Companion* 88: 169-70 involves six brief episodes in the life of a Loyalist family living in New Brunswick at approximately the turn of the nineteenth century. These events consist of family milestones such as the marriage of the parents, the illness of baby John, the flood at age two or three, the kidnapping of the five-year-old child, the dangers of a sudden squall to the thirteen-year old, and a sixteen-year old beset by hunger (169). The characters are simple, flat, uncomplicated types; the morality is Protestant Christian; the attitudes are race and class bound; and each plot concerns one main incident which carries the tale. Clearly the structure is that of the episodic adventure tale; certainly his colonial perspectives are clear-edged.

The Stanway family takes on feudal obligations to their employees and neighbours, who include the Malecite Indians, for, as the wealthiest man in the community, Stanway Senior feels morally responsible for the welfare of the less fortunate poor in all ways, physically, economically and spiritually. In short, the Stanways embody all the gentry values and obligations of a life-style long since vanished. It can be questioned whether these values were ever part of the Canadian colonial mind-set. Clearly they originated in England, and while they were successfully transplanted into the United States and flowered as an ante-bellum world-view, no real equivalent ever emerged in British North America. Certainly Canada's harsh climate and the great distances between towns were not conducive to the viewing of rural life as a haven of peace and tranquillity where the codes of a landed gentry could be re-enacted. In "The River Islanders of Yesterday" Roberts invents the ideal colonist—one who represents the mother country in all times and in all places and mimics her ideals, morals and values to the natives of the new land. This mimicry of the centre produces a duplicate, not a new, society where the coloniser administers peace, justice and prosperity through the weight of his moral suasion.

An historical tale with quite a different impact is Forrest Crissey's "A Young Fur-Trader's Adventure" (*Golden Days* 13: 61-62). Set in the years prior to the dissolution of the North West Company and its subsequent absorption by the Hudson's Bay Company in 1821, Crissey's story was published in 1891, at least seventy years later. The first-person narrator speaks of the tale as his own exploits as a young man in the employ of the Hudson's Bay Company. Unfortunately, the story strains credulity as a first-hand account in most respects, for virtually nothing in the story feels fresh or first-hand. In fact, it is easy to suspect that the author took a reading of Ballantyne's *Snowflakes and Sunbeams; or, the Young Fur Traders* (1856) entirely to heart before sending in his version of similar events.

Essentially his tale establishes what lengths each fur company is prepared to go in order to obtain the most and best quality furs from the Indian traders: the North West Company will give the Indians alcohol; the Hudson's Bay Company will start the rumour of small-pox in their rival's fort. The narrator tells us he is a poor boy fortunate enough to have an uncle who would find him an appointment with the Hudson's Bay Company, "the princely corporation," and that he has ambitions to rise in the company. He admits that "the measures to which each company resorted to secure valuable invoices of skins from the Indians were usually extremely bold or cunning, if not always honorable." But significantly, when the opportunity arises, the young man summons his courage, volunteers for a perilous rendezvous, and delivers the small-pox lie as his superiors require.

Two ravenous gray timber wolves shadow the dog-sled, but when the young adventurer responds by turning the dogs away from the edge of the forest, the team interprets the manoeuvre as a return to the fort. In their fear they turn too quickly and dump the driver into the snow, themselves becoming hopelessly entangled their traces. The driver shoots one wolf and scrambles up a tree. Crissey writes:

> When I settled into a secure seat in the branches of the pine, I saw the ferocious brutes falling upon the entangled pack of dogs. If it had not been for the dogs' cries of abject terror, I should almost have enjoyed their massacre, for a more despicable collection of curs than the sledge-dogs of Fort Assinaboine [sic] I have never chanced to meet. (52)

In all the tales that involve dog-teams in the periodical literature, this is the only one in which the driver and the dogs do not have a rapport of inter-dependence and respect, if not outright love.

The characterisation gives us very little to admire: the company suggests a lie that will win the narrator/protagonist advancement and the supposed hero succumbs; then, at the climax of the tale, the hero turns coward and betrays the dogs. Both items are flagrant breaches of the code of manliness and fair play so entrenched in the culture of the nineteenth century. This tale is far from the ethics underlying the imperial mission. When W. Thomson writes in his front page cover-story for *Golden Days* ("Through the Forest for Life" 24: 705-6) that his thoroughbred race horse, while outrunning "a string of forty or fifty of them" (wolves), kills the one that makes a frontal attack on her by shaking it to death in her teeth "as a terrier does a rat, and pitche[s] him, apparently lifeless, to one side," then responds to her master's "caress by a pleasant whinny, while all the time running like the wind," we may not exactly believe it, but we surely do recognise the value system which spawns such a story. Crissey's tale ends with success as does Thomson's, but no matter how "true-to-life" it may be, it is not uplifting. Why the editors insisted on the stereotypes and yet allowed the transgression of chivalric manly fair-play we will likely never know.

The concept of imperialism and the cult of manliness based on the chivalric codes of honour, justice, and valour which were its bulwark, both over-stuffed with conventions, larger-than-life as prototypes, were to be crushed in the realities of trench warfare in the First World War. Prior to this time they had served as something of a substitute for religion in training the male youths of England, the U.S., and Canada as to their moral purpose. That chivalric manliness became associated with the conquests and adventures of the imperialists contributed to the demise of the code during the terrors of 1914 to 1918.

Adventures of English Lads and Others

Even before the nineteenth century began, the tradition of seeing history as a series of valued principles chronicling the "improvement" of a people or nation was popular but, beginning in mid-century, the idea of progress expanded to become practically synonymous with the ethos of the nineteenth century. As the century wore on, examples to turn to for evidence lay not far afield: railroads crossed the county, people communicated rapidly from coast to coast via telegraph, and waves of immigration, particularly in the last decade of the century, were aimed at solidifying the Canadian claim to the northern prairies. "Progress was not only conceived in material and tangible terms, but even in intellectual matters it was treated as quantifiable" (Berger 112). Material improvements were equal to moral and intellectual improvements, and Canadians of British descent quickly noted the weighty contribution of their forefathers to this pattern of growth, which they credited to a racial propensity for liberty and a nascent capacity to draft and uphold uplifting national laws.

The idea of continual progression onward and upward had long been part of the cultural frame. Early in the century, Jean-Baptiste Lamarck had detailed how the animal species formed a graduated chain of progression in *Philosophie Zoologique* (1809). Continuing in this line, he outlined an evolutionary theory of biology in his *Histoire naturelle des animaux* (1815); using similar reasoning, Charles Lyell explained changes in geology over time in *Principles of Geology* (1832). Meanwhile, the romantic movement of the first three decades of the century contained the implicit belief in a prior Edenic state from which the world had fallen, but to which it was gradually returning, little by little, with ever upward advancement.

In 1858 Alfred R. Wallace sent Charles Darwin a copy of his paper "On the Tendency of Varieties to Depart Indefinitely from the Original Type," which very much anticipated the conclusions of Darwin's own work, and provided him with the impetus to publish *The Origin of Species* in 1859. The work met with a largely sympathetic audience partly because the reading public had been prepared decades in advance for the ideas it presented, and partly because Darwin avoided the ornate poetic conventions of the day and instead used simple language that a large readership could readily grasp.

Out of these biological sciences came the theory of Social Darwinism, the belief that the best naturally succeeded, that survival belonged to the fittest, with various social corollaries such as success being the evidence of virtue and wealth the evidence of success. The idea that wealth was the evidence of virtue had long since been held by the Calvinists, but now it seemed to be supported by highly believable scientific theory. Hence, this was an age when wealth and public service went together in the life of prominent businessmen, who were often raised to the status of national heroes. Few at the turn of the twenty-first century find Social Darwinism adequate to describe the ways in which subject and object are mutually involved, yet popular wisdom still defers to the appealing image of mankind ever evolving towards greater things. As a result, society at large continues to ingest this mind-set unthinkingly as something of a philosophical heritage.

The idea of progress was often used as a philosophy of history, and the consequences of this idea were increasingly pervasive in the optimistic literature produced by the Nineteenth Century. An example is J. Sheridan Hogan's paper representing Canada in the British Empire's submission to the Paris trade fair of 1855. According to Laurence S. Fallis, Jr., Hogan's thesis amounted to this: "The law of the Old World was decay; the law of the New World was progress" (170). Better as aphorism than fact (since the idea of progress was unarguably a European concept), this title was merely one of many which suggest how closely the Anglo-Saxon vision of settlement and discovery revolved around the idea of progress. Henry Youle Hind's book, *80 Years of Progress of British North America*, published in the mid 1860s, was a tract on how reason and progress had worked together to produce the enormous growth enjoyed by both the United States and British North America. Mid-Victorians generally called their time the Age of Improvement. In the U.S., Manifest Destiny became a commonplace equivalent, and in all of North America the exploitation of natural resources was an unquestioned method for producing this progress.

Religion and social stability were equated in the minds of the highly conservative populace throughout much of the century and is a repeated theme in the earlier periodical *The Snow Drop*, as well as in the later seven periodicals from Britain and the United States. The idea of progress became bound up with religious beliefs to the extent that "Order, stability, industry and sobriety were the watchwords. Progress was a gift bestowed by the Almighty only upon a people worthy of His munificence. Canadians assumed that progress was as much a function of grace as it was of human industry" (Fallis 181). The missionary work of many groups reinforced the idea that a people's progress paralleled their ability to embrace the principles of Christianity. Current theories held that some races just weren't fit to govern—themselves, or anyone else, and some races were born to rule—the British for example.

Literature for all age groups during the period was blunt about Caucasian superiority: the reader could predict a positive outcome for a character based entirely on the lightness of skin colour. The darker the skin, the harsher fell reality: dark skins bore the brunt, paid the price, carried the burden. Associating virtue with skin colour, that is, racial characteristics with character, became such a commonplace that whole generations of Europeans and North Americans assumed that if their position in society was one of privilege, then they had received that position as some sort of reward for righteousness. This led to xenophobia at worst, and smug condescension at best.

Evolutionary theory, already well-known in the eighteenth century, was commonly used in astronomy and geology, but when Charles Darwin applied it to biology in *Origin of Species* (1859) it spurred on the study of culture as a science. As Christine Bolt observes in *Victorian Attitudes to Race* (1971):

> Both cultural characteristics such as language and physical features were used to classify the different divisions of man. Ultimately the two became confused, so that something called 'race' came to be seen as the prime determinant of all the important traits of body and soul, character and personality, of human beings and nations. In other words, race became far more than a biological concept: race and culture were dangerously linked. (9)

One of the most frequently studied issues was the classification of man according to physical features. Typical hierarchies of the period show whites at the top, Mongolians and then Native

Indians in the middle, and Blacks on the bottom. Much of this was established by craniometry, the science of the measurement of the skull, which positively correlated brain size with intelligence. As Michael Banton states, "The chief mistake was the failure to appreciate that there is an association between brain size and stature" (*Racial Theories* 36). In the nineteenth century, one of the most famous of these scientists was George Morton of Philadelphia (d. 1851), who tested and measured over a thousand human skulls, and published his results widely. Contemporary scientist, Stephen Jay Gould, has examined Morton's data and found his conclusions to be inaccurate ("Blacks and Indians Treated" 191), although probably not deliberately so. Gould believes that such "*unconscious* finagling . . . suggests a general conclusion about the social context of science. For if scientists can be honestly self-deluded to Morton's extent, then prior prejudice may be found anywhere, even in the basics of measuring bones and toting sums" (191-92). Yet, at the time, from measurable physical structure, it was believed that the races had deterministic mental and moral characteristics. The short adventure fiction of the young adult periodicals everywhere demonstrates this preconception.

The periodicals contain examples so blatantly racist as to cause a current reader significant discomfort. Robert H. MacDonald believes that children's literature teaches enthnocentrism, class distinction, and self congratulation, that people of other races are "foreign," and therefore strange, and that they are (justifiably) envious of membership in the centre. Similarly, children's literature teaches that unity of thought and feeling is desirable, while an "us" and "them" polarisation is implicit in Other. MacDonald writes: "typically, material written for young children miniaturises and, obviously enough, simplifies, and so the world is made comic and safe. The child is desensitised as adult outsiders are reduced to the status of children . . ." (*Language* 9).

If Canadian young adult periodical literature in both the British and the American magazines was blatant in its racial stereotypes, so, too, was that written by the Americans and the British themselves. Such thinking seems to have felt as natural as breathing air and drinking water. Until the large waves of immigrants from Eastern Europe began to fill up the prairies in the Clifford Sifton era of the 1890s, the racial stereotypes of Canada were almost exclusively of three groups: the French-Canadian, the ignoble or noble savage, and the British (or American). As in all stereotypes, the latitude allowed for deviance in characterisation was narrow. The French-Canadian was usually the good-natured, musical, and care-free, though hot-tempered, superstitious, and somewhat self-indulgent Gaul. The British settler was an intelligent, hard-working, virtuous Anglo-Saxon who fulfilled the mandate of Empire in sport, manliness, duty, and Christian chivalry. While this stereotype is easily observable today, it was likely invisible to contemporary readers of Caucasian British, American, or Canadian ethnicity.

The European attitude toward the Natives became the Canadian attitude, as first contact by the fur traders established basic relationships for later settlers. To some, the Indian was the noble savage living contentedly a Spartan existence, enduring uncomplainingly a life in which survival was the daily concern, a child of nature, at one with the spirit of the forest and the animals therein. To others, the Indian was the ignoble savage, capable of every deceit, lie, or sin imaginable, utterly devoid of saving graces unless taught Christianity. In the young adult literature, the authors fluctuated between the two outlooks. It was tempting to draw a noble savage as a young man's opponent because the conflict would seem more noble if the opponent was worthy of combat—the medieval chivalric point of view. Then again, it was tempting for the authors to take the ignoble savage approach because the melodrama of disgust elevated the emotional level in a story almost instantly—the clean-cut manly Imperialist approach to characterisation.

Particularly distressing for a late-twentieth-century reader of these stories is the fact that any mixing of races by intermarriage produced, in the eyes of the author, off-spring of an even lower social order. The Metis were in this class, usually a mixture of French and Cree, often called Breeds or Half-breeds, and they could be counted on to be the miscreant or villain of whatever stripe was necessary to carry the plot along. This treatment followed long-held theories of biology that any mixing of races led to the deterioration of the superior race and produced a vicious lower order, entirely useless to civilisation.

In nineteenth-century Canada, the consequences of being Other were tremendous. Access to education, to jobs, and to marriage partners was all manipulated according to racial biases which were not restricted only to the French and the Indians. Canadians abhorred slavery, but while Blacks were treated with humanitarian decorum, they were not invited into social equivalency, either.

Even other white, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant groups such as the Americans and the British sometimes qualified as Other and came up for their share of scorn in the Canadian works. The frame for the story by Edward William Thomson, “'Kig and Wig’: The Legend of Two Queerly Named Canadian Lakes” (*Youth's Companion* 69: 298-99), by dint of a fifty-year-old woodsman's grandfather's father, takes us to a pre-revolutionary war era in the Ottawa River and Georgian Bay region of Canada. Two young Canadian men, Zekle and Jeremy, will not join either the British or the Yankee side of the conflict because the British hire Indians, an intolerable ally for cultural reasons, and the Americans hire the French, an even more intolerable ally for economic reasons, since they interfere more with the white trappers. Religion and politics of the colonies in the 1760s run as follows:

> It hurted Zekle and Jeremy's feelins bad to think of reg'lar Christians all a-tangled up that way with pagan Indians and abberin' French, when the reg'lar Christians' duty naturally was to've turned in and had real good old times wipin' out French and Indians so's beaver could breed more in peace and comfort like, and be ready for the only right kind of trappers at the right seasons. (298)

There we have it: total xenophobia. Perhaps, after all, it is a given in the human condition! Maybe even the most marginalised members of society can only see the remainder of humanity as though from a dominant group perspective—theirs. Perhaps every person represents the only dominant culture that matters to him or her, that is, his or her own individual sense of values and order, so that all else but oneself is Other. If so, then perhaps we have found one saving attribute for this tale: only the most racist tale will demonstrate xenophobia in such high relief that we may see ourselves. If not, then we can marvel at why such a story was acceptable under the strict moral standards of the editors.

One can wish that Thomson had been aware of the racism, saw it for its comic elements, and told the tale with a poker-face to taunt both sides, the racists as well as their more broad-minded peers. But only naiveté supports this reading; no evidence can be found. Although partially hidden by preferences for "good manners," racism appears to have been normative in the literature for youths in the decades from 1870 to the First World War. And no wonder! The nineteenth century was permeated with science-based racial theories.

Another bias with racial implications involves the matter of what constituted good manners, civil deportment. If civilisation must progress forward, upward, onward, and if Victorian England was the harbinger of ultimate culture world-wide, then differences from the norm in matters such as language, speech, dress, life-style must indicate a reversion to primitivity, and a thing to be condemned. By the most narrow standard, for example, it was bad manners for someone to speak a language incomprehensible to a member of the ruling elite. It was also bad manners to speak without certain touches of grace even if out in the woods with persons who have no notion that those niceties exist.

Edmund Collins gives us an example of this phenomenon in "A Strange Retribution" (*Boy's Own Paper* 14: 40-42). Young George and James Nelson are out on a moose-hunting expedition. Upon meeting up with two *metis*, the boys "felt an instinctive dread of the men on scanning them closely." Of course, it is impossible to know if this dread comes because of the Otherness of the *metis*—their dress, accent, physiognomy—or because of an extra-sensory quality available to the boys. But we can suspect it is the former when we encounter this conversation between the metis and the boys: "You don't want only one of these quarters of meat," said the older *metis*, walking up to James; "better let us have this one," laying his hand on the venison. George at once turned to the impudent fellow. "If you had asked properly, we should have given you some; now you can't have any" (40). A social code is in place in this interaction which members of a subordinate culture cannot possibly hope to bridge.

At mid-century, *The Snow Drop* was all about dominant culture codes, and how to teach them to children. The periodical would have us think of a society in which love and peace, duty and honour, kindness and generosity all might happen tomorrow if society as a whole would take to heart the tenets of faith and the ethics for conduct found in its pages.[1]

Generally, the stories involving blacks in *The Snow Drop* are conscientiously diplomatic. "Korla, the Little Slave" (serialised in various issues of Vol. II New Series) is a front-cover story for July 1851, shortly after the United States enactment of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 in which slaves living free in the northern industrial states could be forcibly returned to bondage on southern plantations. The Canadian Anti-Slavery Society of 1851 helped these refugees escape into Canada, usually at Detroit. *The Snow Drop*'s story, then, is a highly topical inclusion to help children understand current events in their society on this important issue. It opens with charming scenes depicting the love between an African woman and her three-year-old male child who are forthwith captured by slavers and somehow survive the voyage to America. This much is in the adventure tradition.

The remainder of the story outlines life on the plantation: the father/owner feels angry over the Northern prejudices and represents the Southern impulse for repression of the blacks; his children represent new feelings emerging in the South, particularly the slave's right to education; the mother believes in freedom for all people, but must choose peace at any cost. The author writes compassionately of both sides: the difficulty for Southern slave-owners to break patterns and customs entrenched for generations, and the unbearable difficulty of being healthy, intelligent, ethical, and yet to live in slavery. Essentially we have here an anti-slavery story of a black family reuniting under wrenching circumstances in which no one group is given the entire blame—some very delicate footwork indeed. Likely the author of "Korla, the Little Slave" did not realise that his or her contribution, presumably a story of accommodation, would show how impossible both the parent's positions really were, nor could the author have anticipated that the impulses the children felt would be the actualities enacted fifteen years later by participants of the Civil War.

When Charles G. D. Roberts attempts the same type of story he distances himself as far as he possibly can from the story with the use of the tried-and-true frame device. The narrator for "Unexpected Rescuers" (*Harper's Young People* 16: 137-40) says the story was told to him by a great uncle of his mother's, who was first mate on a ship bound for Africa in 1799. The object of the voyage is to bring back a cargo of white ivory, but failing that, the captain will settle for slaves from the Cameroons to sell at Charleston. This unnamed relative equivocates, but the social grounds seem to outweigh the moral in his response. "But I'm free to confess I don't like it. Seems to me they're men, same as we are, and ought to have their rights. Furthermore, I kind of don't like to see the *Sally* all messed up with blackbirds. It ain't a nice cargo for gentlemen to handle" (137). Roberts' first two sentences set out the correct sensibilities for a post-reconstruction audience of Northern readers, but the last two sentences are the class sentiments of an ante-bellum Southerner—quite a politically agile way for an author to position his first-person narrator. The first mate responds that he will obey orders but because of them intends to quit after this voyage. The captains replies: " Reckon I feel much the same as you do about it, and if I had my way there wouldn't be any slave trade." Evidently business is business and the mercantile impulse wins out over the humanitarian, for the ship sails to the Cameroons.

Roberts knows his reader will be ill at ease at this point, so he lists the various Christian charities shown toward the blacks while they are on board this particular slave-ship. In contrast to language positioning them as debased slaves with instincts akin to those of animals—"fed and watered," "tamer captives"—stands the captain's allegedly humanitarian gesture to take more blacks aboard than they actually do in order to rescue them from the misery of life in the barracoons (the prisons where the slaves are held until deportation). Only the captain's and first mate's concern for unhealthy over-crowding of the cargo prevents this from happening. Each day the captives are made to bathe in the sea water and are "fed and watered without being kicked or beaten." Present day historical lenses inform us that slavers did not operate this way in 1799, a consideration which leads us to doubt Roberts' historical perspectives.

Roberts' tale recognises echelons of class-consciousness regarding the human cargo. Besides purchasing regular-sized blacks, the white men also purchased a more noble group: "Their great stature, proud bearing, well-cut noses, and more jetty hue of their skins, showed them to be of a different stock from the tamer captives about them. These were no mere victims of the slave-hunter, but warriors overpowered in some wild battle far inland" (138). Who constitutes the subjective category of "noble" are those of the same height, the same postural patterns, and the appropriate nose size to be the photographic camera-film negative imprint of a manly "noble" Anglo-Saxon. Significant is the way in which Roberts emphasises the noble qualities of this particular group of captives, for soon they are to be raised to the status of honoured allies.

The rest of the tale is classic (if racist) adventure. The sailors soon spot a pirate ship, *Black Meg*, who fires upon them, but they escape to the Orinoco river of Venezuela where they run aground. The "noble" black warriors organise the evacuation of the other "tamer" blacks and offer to help fight the pirates alongside of the sailors: "Give us arms, and we will fight at your side like brothers, and never give back one foot as long as we remain alive" (139), a speech taken from Imperialist-boy jargon of Empire. The sailors judge them to be valuable assets, "We had no hesitation in trusting them," but the pirates soon begin to over-power the combined resistance. The freed blacks of all sizes see the fight and come to the aid of their former captors. Once the pirates are beaten off, the sailors reward them with "all the biscuit, beef, muskets, and ammunition that we could spare, and we offered to take my big warriors back to Africa on our next voyage. But they preferred to stay in the new land." There is no doubt that Roberts has read his H. Rider Haggard—*King Solomon's Mines* (1885)!

Both tales give us fascinating insights into how race relations in the U.S. were perceived by Canadians. Were a contemporary critic to object that Roberts' views are motivated by history since his tale is ostensibly set in the last year of the eighteenth century, it would not be a strong one, for it ignores the positioning on racial issues which Roberts juggles in the opening parts of the story. This way of thinking would be unlikely until after the ascendance of the adventure tale. In other words, Roberts has taken late-nineteenth-century thinking and sutured it to the late eighteenth century where it cannot logically apply.

If "Korla, the Little Slave" can be seen as a proscriptive treatment for how Canadians wanted to teach their U.S. cousins to behave, then "The Two Dolls" by Miss Mitford (*Snow Drop* III New Series: 47) demonstrates the correct British attitude. Fanny lives with her aunt while her parents are in India. In her new home she demonstrates fear of many animals large and small, as well as fear of the chimney sweeps and the black foot-boy who lives next door. Pompey is aware of her "horror and disgust" and protests "Me same flesh and blood with you, missey, though skin be black." Subsequently, Fanny is given two beautifully clothed dolls at her birthday party, one a white girl, and the other a black boy. The aunt has her investigate how the dolls are made of the same rag stuffing and the analogy allegedly serves to overcome Fanny's racial prejudices.

It might seem that Canadian authors could be liable for charges of denial—denial that certain social wrongs may lie too deep to be touched by neighbourly advice. Ironically, this would be true of the prejudices Canadians themselves exhibit concerning their own French-Canadian minority, for these seem to be a fixed matter, almost amounting to a formalised pattern in the British and American publications beginning in 1870 and onward. But curiously, no stories of French-Canadians appear in the mid-century publication *The Snow Drop* despite its publication city of Montreal.

We turn, then, directly to Mary Hartwell Catherwood's serialised adventure tale "Bells of Ste. Anne" (*St. Nicholas* 16: Jan - May 1889). An American writing about Canada, she sounds the stereotypes about French-Canadians. In contrast to the driving Protestant work ethic readers would presumably understand, she tells us that French-Canadians have no desire to be rich, to hurry, nor to make the best use of time. Their desire is to retire at age fifty, to sit and smoke, and to choose one child to inherit the farm and support the parents in their old age (92). In case the reader has forgotten, a fresh iteration of these stereotypes opens episode three: "Though a French-Canadian never hurries, and may accomplish no more in a week than the nervous, driving American in half a day, he keeps pace with nature by rising with the sun. The cackle of French voices begins at early cock-crowing" (257). Here we have three powerful assumptions about French-Canadians: that they have inherently lazy dispositions, that they occupy a lower echelon of humanity, as implied by the animal metaphor, and that their language is inferior. As a simple child of nature, the French-Canadian remains peasant-like in the old European hierarchy of class distinctions.

In episode two, the French poet's daughter is speaking in her native tongue, yet the narrator translates it into broken English rather than into the fluent English which would be the direct equivalent of fluent French. "I hurt most in my inside," explained the child, "for that monsieur and you should be burnt while you ran after me." (192). This produces "cuteness," closely allied with the quaintness or "charm," which is one of the few cultural values extolled by British visitors to the older cities of Quebec (Lower Canada) in travel writing of the period.

Her closing episode reflects the adventure formula concerning class matters. When Bruno drowns, she writes with a certain amount of callousness: "There was one French boy less among the swarming surplus who leave old hives and crowded garden-sized farms along the rivers" (499). The heroic necessities of the adventure genre require that members of nobility be involved, and so the French-Canadian cannot remain merely peasant. Catherwood must ameliorate the animal/peasant metaphor somehow. This she does by amplifying the poet's role sufficiently to serve the function of wandering nobility. In contrast to Bruno's simplicity, the wealthy, sensitive, French-Canadian poet erects a "marble cross, small and slender, yet conspicuous among the black wooden and slate crosses" to the drowned boy. This act implies that the imprecations against Bruno's class have been lifted in order to satisfy the adventure quotient.

And yet, occasional scenes in Catherwood ring true. One such is the tender response the child makes to the sounds of the bells: "Alvine turned away her face and sobbed, because as deep answering to deep, the secret places of her religious nature responded to that vast cry of human prayer" (423). This passage also sounds another basic French Canadian stereotype: a people whose religious piety involves near-mystical devotion to God.

Unfortunately, the three stories Catherwood attempts never successfully come together to form a unified whole: the sketch of Marcel-Bruno and his Algonquin retainer Francois is undeveloped, as is the long and complicated sequence about Alvine and the blacksmith's family, not to mention the events involving Marcelline, Aurele, the poet, plus the Acadian nurse—really an unusually large cast for even a long short story. The best that can be said for the story is that Catherwood responded truly to the episodic necessities of the adventure tale structure.

Sometimes the religiosity of the tales is sweet and simple as in E.W. Thomson's "Little Baptiste; A Story of the Ottawa River" (*Youth's Companion* 60: 521-22), in which the French Canadian family has run out of food and credit at about the same time, and even the possibility for honest labour seems unlikely. The fourteen-year-old son prays to *le bon Dieu* to send breakfast, and in the course of the day, after exhaustive efforts of his own, the family does receive both food and work. The young adult concludes, "We may take as much trouble as we like, but it's no use unless *le bon Dieu* helps us" (522).

Sometimes religiosity is mere superstition, as in certain stories of *metis* and Indians. The lumber acks in Charles G.D. Roberts' story "In the Rapids of the Asberish" (*St. Nicholas* 27: 397-401) collectively believe their camp is unlucky. Two feuding men, a *metis* and a New Englander, apparently willing to fight to the death, make this a tale of revenge and violence. Yet the ending contains a symbolic baptism as resolution, in which redemption for both sides is possible. After nearly losing their lives in the rapids, the New Englander explains their truce, "I reckon we got the old scores all washed out, there in the rapids, and kind of come out with a clean slate!" (401).

The Canadian periodical *The Snow Drop*'s opening volume deals with Indians in its series "Stories from the History of Canada" (I: April 1847-March 1848) in terms alternating between condescension and respect. Some tales in this series portray assimilation as the Native's inevitable destiny despite deep contrasts between the two cultures. In "Pic-Nic to

Lorette" (I: 127-132) during their carriage ride to the designated picnic spot, the children observe an Indian camp in which the babies and children are not real Indians, the author notes, but "of a mixed race, and only looked as if they had been thoroughly sunburnt." This group is a remnant of the Huron tribe, once second in power and extent of their dominion only to the Algonquins. Now-a-days, so the white children are told, they are "fond of fishing and hunting, and do not like to cultivate the land, or advance in civilization." Finally, when the family finds the chief, he is too white looking; however, his squaw is noted to be "a true copper coloured Indian." The picture, here, is of a culture in the midst of assimilation, one which is losing its distinctive qualities of ethnicity such as pigmentation, but one which is still on the verge of primitive Other as evidenced by its refusal to make changes in societal values. Equally apparent are the class distinctions based on the blood lines.

A later tale entitled "The Indian Chief" (IV: 90-2) describes how a Judge in New York decides to make an overture of friendship toward the local Indian chief. The chief responds positively and insists upon a pledge to seal their friendship, with terms including a three-day visit of the Judge's grandson with the Chief. The Chief then returns the grandson dressed in luxurious furs, much to his distressed mother's relief, and the friendship is sealed. This story is evidently designed to show possibilities for rapprochement between the two cultures.

Certainly the same racial stereotypes had existed at mid-century as did at the end of the century, but Indians in *The Snow Drop* are treated with a certain discretion. Not so in the later publications from Britain and the U.S. J. Macdonald Oxley's story "Forty Miles of Maelstrom" (*Youth's Companion* 64: 29-30) is a high adventure canoeing story told in a breathless pace, but the characters are the expert, stolid Indian and the fearful, praying half-breed, both more caricature than flesh and blood. In some stories the racial stereotypes are more harsh, as though no humanitarian excuse need be made. Frank Lillie Pollock's story "My Indian Guest" (*Youth's Companion* 72: 424) opens with a romantic vision of the life-nurturing Canadian wilderness immediately followed by a most unromantic description of an Indian whom backwoods survival ethics requires the narrator to feed and house for the night: "His face wore the average Indian's impenetrable look of stupidity, but it seemed to me that there was a more-than average amount of viciousness and brutality in his countenance . . . ."

Other stories offer the stereotype as an attempt for humour. D. Ker, an Englishman writing about Canada, offers this description of his Indian guide in "Through the Rapids With Indians" (*Harper's Young People* 2: 8-10): "If you want to know what Indians are like, ust fancy two overfried sausages wrapped in dirty brown paper, and you'll have a perfect picture of my 'noble red men,' whose names sounded to me exactly like 'Cock-a-doodle-doo' and 'Very-like-a-whale'" (8). Would a child in 1880 find this funny, or would it hurt? Would a youth chuckle appreciatively? Or was it written to entertain the parents who might presumably read aloud to the child? It is difficult for us now to excuse such insensitivity in our forbears, yet still so impossible to see our own insensitivities.

S. E. McDonald contributed only one story, "An Adventure" (*Youth's Companion* 60: 524-25), which reads like a recording of the oral tradition among backwoods yarn-spinners in British Columbia. It is truly an ignoble savage story. Indians are shot at and left for dead with no mention of body count, self defence issues, or a subsequent law trial for the murderer. It is really a violent little tale, yet the author tries to deflect the blame south across the border and dismiss the morality of the issues by saying that since they carried "American repeating carbines and cartridges" . . . "these redskins were renegade Sioux from across the border" who had come north during the Riel Rebellion, lured by "the hope of scalping and plundering with impunity."

The greatest condemnation in these stories arises from the pattern these "lower orders" exhibit of being less than steady in their adherence to Protestant religious values. In Norman Duncan's "A Point of Honor" (*Youth's Companion* 77: 489-90) when the Factor of a Hudson Bay Company Fort in 1829 allows refuge in the fort to a white man of the lowest principles, he positions the man's Indian pursuers in the contemporary social hierarchy thus:

> Even then the Indians were degenerate, given over to idleness and debauchery; but they were not so far sunk in these habits as are the dull, lazy fellows who sell you the baskets and beaded moccasins that the squaws make today. They were superstitious, malicious, revengeful, and they were almost in a condition of savagery, for the only law they knew was the law our guns enforced. (489)

What seems remarkable to a contemporary reader is how absolute the author's voice becomes on such matters. There is no trace of the question that another view-point, another way of being, could valorise a different set of codes.

The concept of racially distinct Otherness can be found in Edward W. Thomson's "Pickering's Pool" (*Youth's Companion* 64: 97) in which a double point of view is given on the testimony of the French half-breed guide who is the first-person narrator for the tale. Concerning an accident he witnessed, he says, "Well, what you think again? Maybe you won't believe this, but I don't tell lies, me!" More action follows and then the guide says, "I never heard any more account from that old gentleman of how he came through that rapid. But he did go in just as I saw him, and he did come through, for there he was, and I saw him myself." The narrator of the frame story gives the half-breed guide's story complete credence, but it is the guide himself who betrays his sense of Otherness. His knowledge that his veracity is always in question causes him to take great care in positioning himself on the same side as the dominant culture, and so he states that he doesn't lie and affirms later that, indeed, he saw what he says he saw.

Since Cree and Blackfoot Indians are the subject of Thomson's story "The Chief's Fate: A Glimpse of Indian Character" (*Youth's Companion* 58: 294-95), it seems logical to look for the usual signifiers of the Other in this morally complicated tale. Most Thomson stories begin with a frame setting to establish who the narrator is in relationship to those who are actual participants in the story. A group of vacationers ride the partially completed Canadian Pacific Railway out to where it ends, and there they encounter a party of Indians. The following rather lengthy passage from the original story will establish the tone:

> Half a mile farther down the creek stood a small collection of dingy *teepees*, the squalid inhabitants of which soon made their way to the delayed train. Each long-haired and filthy "buck" carried, half-wrapped in his blanket and resting on one of his crossed arms, a short Winchester carbine, embrowned as to the barrel. Several wretched squaws, with stolid papooses [sic] strapped at their backs, slunk about, picking up furtively such scraps of food as our passengers had begun to throw around. A dozen noiseless, woe-begone boys with bows and arrows completed the aboriginal party. Not a soul of them begged. All took thanklessly anything offered. But for their occasional exchange of plaintive, low uninflected short sentences, their curious look as of subdued dumb animals might have suggested that they were not entirely human. About no one of them was there any trace of jauntiness, merriment,

> vanity, or grace. They stared with an unflinching dull gravity that was almost oppressive, and were altogether very disreputable and piteous savages.

So far, this is the stock ignoble savage stereotype. Then Thomson begins to complicate the characterisation:

> Snorting Horse was the only Indian I ever saw who could properly be called kingly. His face was wise, dignified, impressive. His companion, Little Rattlesnake, was short, broad and very repulsive-looking, save for a twinkle of humor about the old rascal's cunning face that redeemed it from absolute villany [sic]. He might have been the jester; he was the medicine-man of his tribe, and the factotum of his chief. To these personages I tendered presents. The short fellow took them, offering one to the Horse, with a gesture, not a bow, but a contortion vividly expressing courtiership and vassalage. The chief took note of the gift, as though graciously signifying acceptance of the paleface's tribute.
>
> At that instant there came to this very grand seigneur of the plains, the officious Jones, gesticulating an invitation that he, too, should "go shoot!" Never shall I forget the air of ineffable, calm, unmoved contempt with which Snorting Horse overlooked the busybody. So might a lordly lion view the request of a monkey to join a competition of hanging by the tail. Jones was actually abashed, for the first and last time in his life, by the chief's stateliness. This was a purely natural grand demeanor, effective in spite of a costume that must have rendered ridiculous any mere pretence to dignity.

These rather long passages demonstrate how very involuted the sense of Other is becoming in Thomson. The people were earlier shown to be of the ignoble savage ilk, but when the chief enters the tale, the terms reverse to include many characters from the noble savage stereotype. Then, in another flip, Thomson undermines this stereotype by using more animal imagery, but even this is not clear-cut, for if the lion is "king of the jungle," the noble savage image is in play. The only white man mentioned in the passage is then likened to a foolish monkey as compared to this king of beasts. Does Thomson's involution of polar stereotypes create absurdity, or does it establish a sort of even-handedness in his writing? I suggest that many of his subsequent stories exhibit this same desire for fair-play and justice for all, despite widely divergent topics, situations, and characters, and that complexities of this sort can still legitimately be part of one person's ethical system.

The chief then tells his story through an interpreter who accompanied the train excursion. Essentially it is a bloody tale of how the chief murdered an entire family of their Blackfeet enemies. The narrator says the translator broke off when the chief's story became "too cruel to be repeated." The chief is now an ignoble savage, along with his people. Then Thomson's narrator unexpectedly inserts: "His narrative, after all, only presented a face of war but a little more brutal than that of civilization" which throws into question European ethics. The narrator continues in this vein by asking a non-rhetorical question:

> Why have I reproduced this horrible story, does the reader ask? For two reasons: First, because it illustrates the Indian opinion that no killing is murder, if done on individuals, however helpless, of a hostile tribe. The spirit of the

> Indian in this regard still finds a counterpart in civilized warfare, modified of course, by human progress.

This answer is notable, for it indicates a narrator who wants to give all people their due: the Indian has a code of honour for killing, as has the European. Then, lest the narrator offend the white reader of European heritage, he adds that their warfare has been civilised by "human progress," a nineteenth-century catch-phrase still used today to describe any philosophy, social programme, or hope (however nebulous it might be) that might counter organised barbarity.

Thomson does not give us his second reason. The story is so compact that it wants development at every sequence and it may be that Thomson cut down a far longer draft to fit the strict word requirements for publication purposes. The story is certainly episodic enough to support this theory, and is the only one in which Thomson used the dash and space between sections to indicate abrupt changes in location, speaker, and date.

The narrator moves next to the story of his own son's acquaintance at the Indian University with a young Blackfoot named Jack who goes missing for several weeks with no explanation. After a lapse of time the story switches to the narrator's next visit to the spot where he and the translator originally heard the chief's story. The narrator fortuitously meets the same translator who is this time guiding an ox-team "North, on the old Edmonton trail" who updates him as to the Chief's story. He says he made the mistake last fall of telling the chief's story in a Blackfoot camp, after which, he discovered the brother of the murdered man to be there. Once again the story switches to a father-son scene in which the narrator questions his son about a newspaper account of the Cree chief's death. The son tells about the strange behaviour of the Blackfoot student, Jack, who suddenly acquired a scalp which he explains "represents revenge for the murder of a family." By this time the reader has put the links together. Actually Thomson is quite skilful at setting up the evidence and allowing the reader to make the necessary connections in the plot without any intrusion or didacticism. The narrator concludes that Jack had taken revenge for his family's death, and observes that Jack's veneer of civilisation was not nearly so deep or so strong as "the taint of revenge in the young student's blood, a characteristic that had grown for a thousand years . . ." Here, again, after Thomson notes a fault in the Other, he offers expiation based on the individual's unavoidable heritage.

The story is notable for its modernity in tone, subject, and prose style and for its realistic recounting of details, its lack of sentimentality or melodrama, and its accommodation of the polarising elements of the colonial mentality. However, I ask this: Since the story contains murder, violence, and revenge, how did it get past the tough standards imposed by the editors of this juvenile periodical? I propose that it is because of the colonial attitudes to race acceptable in the culture at large, and because the author writes his generation's biases with accuracy. Late-nineteenth-century society had already ruled that when a story centres on a degraded class or sub-group, the immoral behaviours of the aboriginals justify the terrible physical circumstances of their life as being an appropriate reward for their savagery. If the same story had been written about the feuds of whites, I suggest the editors would have rejected it out of hand.

These editors were still highly influenced by the European traditions of English literature which lumped everybody (including the Irish and certainly the French-Canadians), and especially those of darker skin hue, into the category of Other. The subtle differences between the British and U.S. periodicals on the issue of race are generally based on issues of vocabulary and realism, for the stereotypes employed on both sides of the Atlantic are very similar.

NOTES

[1] It is shocking to find a viciously racist concept underlying a math game published in 1853, for it must have seemed entirely benign to the editors and thus went unnoticed. "Arithmetical Question" (V New Series: 155) was apparently contributed by readers coming from "The Scholars of Hochelaga School" who say they have just enjoyed reading *The Snow Drop*'s serialised reprinting of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Their challenge is out to other schools to solve the following conundrum:

> A vessel in danger at sea, the Captain resolved half the crew should be thrown overboard. There were 30 sailors; 15 whites and 15 blacks. They agreed that every 9th man should perish. The Captain is desirous to save the whites, how should they be placed in a line or circle that the 9th lot or number should always fall on a black man.
> I can testify to the truth of the above,
> Samuel Henry.
> Hochelaga, 9th April, 1853.

Whether Samuel Henry was a student or a teacher, we don't know, but we do know that the editors felt the puzzle was fit to publish. Obviously, the same mathematical question could be posed in a non-racist context, say, with apples and strawberries and a complication provided by an allergic child—any number of alternatives present themselves. But what remains on the page is a blatantly insensitive social comment in the guise of an intellectual exercise. Further, what influence can we assume the reading of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* to have had on these students if this racist submission was their reader-response to the tale?

Chapter V

Adventures of Youths Who Labour

The short adventure fiction from the seven later U.S. and British periodicals under study here, encompasses tales of hard-working youths who somehow manage to scratch out a living without the benefits of family position, education, economic security, or intervening adults. Youths in these tales face gruelling tests of emotional and physical endurance and in many ways follow the formula for the chapbook adventure tales of prior centuries. Extant chapbook stories, derived from earlier centuries, often involve a poor youth who survives on his or her wits while encountering both evil and beneficent persons along life's journey, with chance figuring heavily in the outcome.

These highly popular stories were designed for purchase by the lower classes throughout the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries in England, but as with any literature, and adolescent literature in particular, chapbook reading likely crossed class boundaries. Certainly chapbook tales were written for young plebeians but they also seemed to have influenced future young adventurers who traditionally came from the upper classes—the only group with time and money available for such activities. Essentially chapbooks are adventure tales. Coming home will not solve the problems the hero or adventurer encounters, and on some level the reader understands that the story has no ending except in death. Since the tale is forever ongoing, future episodes ring familiar.

Their popularity began to diminish in the early nineteenth century as the chapbooks continued to be replaced by other forms of cheap literature, a reflection of increasing literacy rates amongst the lower classes, especially the working poor. Gillian Avery observes in "Children's Books and Social History" that in the 1870s the gulf between the classes began to close in children's literature of England, and by the 1890s the working-class boy's ethic had changed to that of the gentlemen-class because England was by then almost all urban (27). Such an observation would not hold true for Canada nor would it be possible in Canada for another century because of the enormous expanses of uninhabited land between cities and even towns.

R. Gordon Kelly's analysis of stories from the U.S. gentry periodicals found in *Mother Was a Lady* (1974) outlines two basic thematic structures. The Ordeal involves a ritual rite of passage which includes physical isolation from society for a time followed by a rescue and subsequent absorption into either the old or a new social structure. The Change of Heart features the moral enlightenment or some other dramatic shift in understanding, a conscious decision to make change for the better by the protagonist and often even the antagonist. Both these formulas are infused with what it is to be a gentleman or lady, i.e. a member of the gentry "whose moral authority derives from universal law . . ." (49). The gentry, then, are the culture-bearers of American democratic principles who maintain the social, aesthetic, and intellectual standards of refinement, temperance, justice and courtesy.

But the relationship of Canadians with their land differed strongly in a number of respects from that of the Americans with their land. Many of the American authors had spent their childhood in a countryside civilised by generations of gentleman farmers, and they tended to juxtapose rural values of serenity, health, and honour, with the evils of city life seen as "a debilitating environment for children, one that stunted moral growth when it did not actually promote viciousness" (Kelly 125). Boy characters from the city tend to live either in cruel poverty, or in lavish, undisciplined fashion, and are sent to the country to be civilised. City life is a monstrous, exhausting treadmill.

But Canadian authors never write this way. They write from a memory of the countryside as one of unremitting toil and hardship as the forest is cut down to make way for the farms. Farmers and fishermen alike face the savage uncertainties of weather, vicious animals, and unprincipled, uneducated neighbours. When protagonists survive their ordeal, they turn to the life-saving town where there is knowledge, skills, goods, comforts, food, help. Despite the gentry class orientation of the American periodicals both in authorship and readership, many of the Canadian stories accepted for publication in them feature working-class men and boys whose values and commitments present a stark contrast to the sensibilities of the gentry class.

At mid-nineteenth-century the tales for Canadian youths as published in *The Snow Drop* tended to emphasise the ways in which young people could help their families. Inevitably the thrust was toward how and why the child needed to become a responsible adult. Sometimes the stories were set in affluent homes where children were treasured and privileged, and where "help" involves certain courtesies or small household tasks. These stories have their mirror image in sentimental romances in which the unfortunately displaced heir is restored to his/her proper place, or in which a carelessly lost or mis-placed object is re-found. Obvious specimens of domestic fiction, these sorts of tales are not at all in the adventure category. In all cases, the main theme concerns life-changes made by the youth in order to conform more closely to an idealised version of home.

Other stories in *The Snow Drop* feature poor children enmeshed in a struggle for survival who must garner sympathy from an appropriately key adult possessing the power to save them. In both Britain and America separate schools of writerly endeavour were established to produce these highly moral stories of children born poor but with virtues which justify their success, frequently rewarded in the fiction of the first half of the nineteenth century by their rise to a heavenly reward. In the fiction of the latter part of the century, both in Britain and America, the natural result of good conduct was customarily drawn as an economic reward. In British stories good conduct was promoted through the stories published and distributed by aid of Sunday School education, and examples would be the Street Arab children stories by Hesba Stretton. Americans were drawn to similar stories marking the class advances of a virtuous, hard-working poor boy enabled by a providentially positioned benefactor as in the Horatio Alger "rags to riches" formula. "The Mother's Last Gift" (II: 270) appears to be *The Snow Drop*'s equivalent of the Horatio Alger tale. The gift mentioned in the title refers to a copper penny given by a dying mother to her son thirty years earlier in London, circa 1819. This poor boy makes good because of his literacy and his ability in mathematics, as well as to his adherence to principles of strict honesty and exactness. The piece is a sketch and does not develop enough to include themes of adventure.

The value of work is stressed again and again in *The Snow Drop* tales, but most do not develop into an adventure. "Annie Grey and Her Cousin" (II: 161-72), for example, opens midst a scene of industrious activity in the home. The moral synopsis of that scene is delivered in a highly didactic following paragraph as though the reader did not understand that Annie tends to be idle while her cousin Caroline is quiet and persevering in her work. Very shortly Annie makes the necessary changes to become a model worker like her cousin, and between them they soon have enough clothing to dress the children of a poor family in the products of their labour. Apparently these young women are being groomed for membership in a growing middle class associated with the values of thrift, industry, and good works on behalf of the poor.

Very few tales in *The Snow Drop* take advantage of the exotic settings of Britain's colonies such as India. One exception is a genuine little adventure tale, "The Boy and the Tiger" (II New Series: 123-25) taken from the magazine *Presbyterian* and republished in *The Snow Drop*, about an apiary situated in the hollow trees of a jungle in India. Four men leave an eleven-year-old boy to guard the boat while they go off to collect honey. As the tide goes out and grounds the boat, a tiger comes to the edge of the bank, surveys the situation and prepares to spring. The boy hides under the deck, and when the tiger lands on the old boat, one leg breaks through the deck. Quickly the boy ties a rope to the leg from below. After a struggle the tiger lies down on the deck until the shouts of the returning men startle it, and it breaks free of the boy's hold. The tiger leaps into the mud, whereupon the men kill it with their sticks. A modern reader, trained to empathise with the animal rather than the men, may be amazed to find the tale ends with a moral about the need we all have for God's help.

No matter the country of origin, nor the multitude of jobs available to young people, bee-keeping was apparently one of the more popular means of income, for tales of young people engaged in honey-gathering lasted from mid-century to the First World War. While honey bees are not tame in any sense of the word, they are domesticated animals in that their habitat, and to a certain extent even their life cycles, are confined to limits set by man.

Frank Lillie Pollock wrote eleven tales about bee-keeping which were published in *The Youth's Companion* between 1904 and 1914. All the stories involve young men who are nearly overcome by the stings of their charges, but who are quick-witted enough to save themselves. The complication in the plot usually surrounds the issue of the boy's inability or unwillingness to destroy the attacker, as would be the case in the traditional hunting adventure story. This reluctance, of course, further imperils the youth. Sometimes other wild animals figure in the stories such as bears who want the honey, as do the humans, or a bad-tempered moose, but primarily the stories are rather grim narrations of how very plucky boys will fight to save their means of livelihood from destruction. The hives generate considerable income, and the youths are determined to succeed, so they call upon their individual courage and their superior knowledge of the task at hand to effect this end.

Pollock's themes in these stories vary only slightly: something stands in the way of the youth and his honey. Sometimes it is the depredations of a bear as in "The Honey Thief" (78: 465) or "The Honey Burglar" (86: 45), or three bears (as the case may be) in "A Shot in the Dark" (88: 453). Other times it is the inaccessibility of the hive, as in "The Stronghold of the Bees" (79: 549), a forest fire that threatens the apiary as in "Caged by Fire" (85: 217), or a dishonest business rival as in "Dangerous Cargo" (84; 273). Several of the stories describe a first-hand account of the physical effects of mass-stinging on the body. The description in "The Live Car-Load" (86: 525) is most arresting:

> Like most bee-keepers, he had grown accustomed to being stung, but he had never had so serious an experience as this. He was beginning to feel poisoned through and through. His heart beat wildly: he was nauseated,

> and his swollen tongue seemed to fill his mouth . . . . He was in despair for he grew more sick and dizzy every moment, and suffered tortures from the pain of the stings. His knees trembled under him; he was growing desperately weak. His pulse dropped suddenly to an almost imperceptible beat, and he knew that more than money was at stake. If he stayed in that car three hours, he would be stung to death.

None of the stories treats the events of the youth's adventure with bees in a light-hearted manner. At best, the possible loss of livelihood is considered a devastating outcome; at worst it is a matter of life and death for the boy. One of the most notable aspects of the situation, however, is that the teenage boy is required to act on his own without access to advice from adults nor even being able to notify adults of his intentions or of his peril. No, these working youths are not among the colonised Other, they are adventure-heroes unprotected by class privilege.

Several of the better Canadian writers for young adults, such as E. W. Thomson and Charles G.D. Roberts, reflected a fascination with the railroads and wrote stories of compelling adventure with locomotives as key features in the action. Structurally, these tales ore consistent with adventure of other thematic development. From the time of *The Snow Drop*, Canada had markedly escalated the changes that would take the young country from colonial status to the relative independence of Confederation in the next decade. These years were a time of railway building to connect outlying farming and lumbering districts with major waterways, in order to move Canadian goods, largely raw materials, to more lucrative overseas and U.S. markets. Essentially they were constructed with privately owned funds by corporations and British investors, but they inevitably required financial subsidisation from the federal government. The Grand Trunk Railway, which joined the ice-free port of Halifax, Nova Scotia with Windsor, Ontario, was completed in 1859, and at 1760 km in length it was the longest railroad in the world at the time. Other railways connected distant parts of Canada with export centres: the St. Lawrence and Atlantic line ran from Montreal to Maine, the Northern Railway connected Toronto with Georgian Bay, and the Great Western moved both goods and tourists between Niagara Falls and Windsor. Significantly, none of the railways made money prior to Confederation.

Canada continued to grow in physical size. In 1871 at the Treaty of Washington Canada and the United States agreed on the forty-ninth parallel as the boundary between the two nations. Then, in 1880 Canada expanded into the northlands when Britain transferred her claim to the Arctic Archipelago to Canada. Finally, she grew in size as railroads opened up the interior. By 1885 the Canadian Pacific Railway had connected East to West across the enormous expanse of the prairies and through the massive heights of the Rocky Mountains. Rail transport remained costly and had to be subsidised by the government, but the cost was borne in order to increase trade and manufacturing throughout the country. Thus, railroads conveyed an aura of dynamism and exclusivity that captured authors' imaginations.

E.W. Thomson's tale about a disastrous ride on the Canadian Pacific Railway demonstrates both of these qualities. First published in 1886 as "The Story of a Scar: A Tale of the Far West" for *The Boy's Own Paper* (9: 6-8), it was published again in 1889 in America simply as "The Story of a Scar" by *Golden Days for Boys and Girls* (10: 274-75), and reprinted for a new generation of teens, as *Golden Days* tended to do, in 1901

(22: 326-27). The story is told as breathless adventure, but without the heroics of the British Imperial boy—this is cold, terrifying naturalism. The frame for the story is the accident report of a young man working as a section engineer for the CPR. Essentially, the "walking-boss" at the gravel pit bullies his men who finally rise in revolt against him. Management learns of the disturbance via the telegraph and they send Jack Nicolson to negotiate on-site. Speed, therefore, is a necessity. The old driver, Ditson, is described in terms which make him appear to be the hero: "Clad in sober grey tweed, with snow-white long hair, close-shaven face, skin of a clear healthy pallor, bright blue eyes, big hooked nose, and square jaw, the old man had much more the appearance of a well-to-do, venerable business man, than of the desperate character that his title of 'Demon driver' would seem to declare" (7). Ditson's every motion alarms Charley, the stoker, as the train smashes through wild birds, a herd of sheep, and a lone cow. Finally, thoroughly irrational from fear of the immense speed of the engine, the stoker jumps out of the run-away train to his death. The young section engineer is knocked unconscious, and when he regains his senses, the train is derailed in a ploughed strip close to the track, and Ditson is lying dead beside him without a wound showing. The last line of the tale states that the bully at the pits, Toler, "got clear away and is still highly prized as a walking-boss" (8). This ending overturns the customary denouements of manly adventures of Empire which reward virtue and excoriate villainy.

The tale contains no bravado for noble deeds done for the sake of honour, no correspondence between physical appearance and personal qualities such as good judgement. It makes no connection between venerable age and wisdom, nor sets up a reward for good nor punishment for wrong, In short, there is no order in the universe it creates. And yet, the tale was published three times in the space of fifteen years. Were the editors blind to these deviations from the pattern? I do not think so. The heart-pumping thrill of action sold their paper, and the violence was not gratuitously inserted as in the "bloods" but a direct result of specific actions or causes, the effect told without gory or sentimental elaboration. But all the same, stark in its realism, it stands as a story from the century to come rather than from the century of its generation, which was just then experiencing the heights, the grand and final throes of imperialistic fervour.

E. W. Thomson wrote a plethora of adventure tales privileging the hard-working labourer. Others of his tales, involving episodes in the forest as hunters and fishermen make their conquests which we have seen in previous chapters, are not his best stories, for with few exceptions, his best writing celebrates labourers. Between 1885 and 1891 he wrote fourteen of them. All fast-paced with a lean prose style and an eye to accurate detail, they have retained their appeal. "John Macbride" (*Youth's Companion* 64: 610), is a character sketch of the psychological and moral workings of an ethically conscious, but not very intelligent miner who must move two cans of pure nitro-glycerine gently down an icy path to the men in the pit. The narrator ruefully acknowledges that no doubt all his readers have come up with the solution to Macbride's dilemma long before Macbride got around to figuring it out, but "Nevertheless, I hold Macbride to have been a hero, because he had resolved to die rather than make a motion that might have sent death down among those men." The concept of heroic action is central to the tale.

So, too, heroic action is the subject for Norman Duncan's employment of various rhetorical devices such as foreshadowing, and repetition in his own tale of "A Tube of Nitroglycerine" (*Youth's Companion* 77: 649). A group of men travelling by train through the west Pennsylvania oil fields discuss the use of nitrogylcerine in drilling. One observes that "few accidents are reported in the newspapers," whereupon another responds ironically, "the accidents manage to get in the newspapers sometimes; the narrow escapes don't. I assure you, though, that hauling these bottled earthquakes about the country is dangerous enough to be interesting to the people who don't have to do it." He soon identifies himself as one who formerly engaged in this hazardous occupation and knows it well. He goes on to describe a project requiring him to drop a five foot tube of nitro-glycerine into a non-steady oil well to get it going strongly again, the drama of the situation increasing substantially when the owner brings over three ladies plus his only child to see the sight. Duncan enhances the suspense with a bit of foreshadowing: "The sight of a glycerine cartridge has given me a little spasm of backwardness ever since. You'll know why in a moment."

The excitement builds with the repeated observations of an old-timer in the profession: "'We don't know when we'll go', old Billy Timms, who drove a wagon for Butts & Company, used to say to me, 'but we know we'll go quick when we start.'" The restatement two-thirds of the way through the story works as a drum beat of warning. "'We don't know when we'll go,' I thought in old Billy Timms' phrase, and a bit humorously, too, I think, 'but when we do go, we go quick!'" Not until the three-quarter mark, at the climax of the story when the oil-well begins its erratic gush which will expel the cartridge with force against the anchor bar over the mouth of the hole, does the reader understand the full significance of these repeated warnings: "the percussion-cap would be set off, and—well, we'd all go 'quick,' sure enough! The peril was horribly sudden." The story builds quickly and ends suddenly as the man catches the cartridge in his arms just inches below the anchor bar. Duncan describes the reactions of the men who have just heard the story (perhaps modelling how he expects his readers to respond), and to a man they "mop their brow." The narrator in the smoking compartment is now elevated to the status of an adventure-hero, Canadian made.

W.E. Maclellan's working-class hero is a fourteen-year-old lad, "Dannie Morgan," (*Youths's Companion* 87: 398) who took over his father's job in the coal mine at age twelve in order to provide for his widowed mother. He befriends another boy, the twelve-year-old "little Ted," from a family of higher economic circumstance, who refuses to go to school and in consequence is sent into the mines by his father. A fire in the mine kills 150 men and boys, and while Danny hears and feels the explosion and knows that deadly choke-damp will likely overcome him unless he exits immediately, he still returns to save "little Ted." The concluding events are brief: Ted pleads never to go into the mine again and pledges to attend school; Dannie goes back to work the first day the mine reopens "in nowise impressed by having been 'featured' in all the newspapers as 'the boy hero of Springmount.'"

Dannie can be a hero because he demonstrates all the pluck, grit, endurance, and adventurousness of the Imperial boy-hero despite his class origins. Going back into the mine is equivalent to continuing on in the adventure mode, one perilous event after another stretching on into the future. By contrast, the coal-mining children in the Sunday School tract literature of Britain tend to be subjects of pity, objects for tears, the focus of efforts to save them from their awful condition through education. This Canadian departure from the established pattern of aristo-military, class-based heroism is a genuine innovation in the concept of an adventure hero.

Authors Veasie Rowe and E.W. Wiswall's work stands out because of the unusual types of events they recount and the highly individualistic telling they employ. Neither seem aware of the conventions of the Imperial boy-hero, and yet their tales are both first-person accounts of the perils and terrors, the freedom and joy of youths who are used to effecting their own destinies. These two longer short stories, written by two good friends and published within two years of each other, were the only tales either of them wrote for the young adult periodicals market.

Wiswall published his adventure in four consecutive issues entitled "Among the Labrador Eggers" in 1885 (*Youth's Companion* 58: 27+). The tale opens with a newspaper account of a light-keeper's encounter with three boys off shore, aged fifteen or sixteen. Wiswall, as first-person narrator, identifies himself as one of them. The plot is remarkably episodic and grows increasingly unconventional. It happens that the two boys join the crew of a fishing boat, but quickly become disenchanted with the job because of the skipper's unfair policies toward them. While out in a small boat taking fish off the trawls, a fog rolls in, and, since they have no compass in the dory, they become lost at sea. The subsequent storm drives the boat to the Southern coast of Labrador where they go ashore. They spend the night in a tilt with ashes falling deep around them from burning moss beds, and the local wolves running to and fro, their jaws snapping.

The next morning a curious old craft comes into sight, skippered by an old woman in a red petticoat, wearing a blue drilling short frock, a fox fur hood, and shoes shined with egg yolks. Mere Violette "had a straggling gray beard, and her hands surpassed a railroad navvy's for size and roughness" (39). Her crew of three men includes her two sons and a French Canadian boy they had kidnapped from another egger, and they spoke "a curious, mixed dialect of Canadian-French and provincial English. It was neither one nor the other; and they used words of which no one but themselves knew the meaning. The cursing, in which they were ingenious and proficient, was done in a language having English for its basis." The egging business involves the breaking of the old sea-fowl eggs and then a wait of five or six days for the new eggs to be laid, which are then gathered and taken to villages and towns along the coast for sale.

The remaining episodes involve Mere Violette's bad dream which impacts her superstitious nature, and a subsequent storm in which the vile crew force the two boys to keep a fire going in order to lure vessels to wreck where the eggers can confiscate the cargo. The three boys join forces, recapture the dory she took from them, and make their escape to Anticosti Island where they have to beat off wild geese, and compete with local bears in scavenging food from wrecks. The first snow of winter comes, so the boys build a tilt. As it turns out, the encounter with the lighthouse keeper as written up in the newspaper actually happened quite differently according to the boys' testimony.

Next an ice floe pounds on the island. It carries a Squawpee Indian and squaw frozen to death, the tattooed lines showing on their cheeks, and still wearing their seal-skin jackets. It next carries in a live moose which the boys tie up, only to have him escape in the night. The egger schooner comes into the harbour, and the evil crew load up the barrels of food and once more steal their dory. The boys look forward to starvation. But when the sons of Mere Violette come to batter down the door of the tilt, the boys intimidate them and escape with a little food and a few possessions. They find another old boat, but while sailing it, a white whale of the Arctic hits it, causing a leak. Just before they sink, a steamer going from Quebec to Liverpool stops for them, despite the Captain's irritation about the delay. Finally, the ship's officers believe the boys' incredible story because of their "long hair and generally mossy appearance . . . " (63), and they give the boys some new clothes. At Liverpool they part, the French-Canadian boy going out with a sealing steamer and the two Newfies planning to return to Canada. This is not a "happily ever after" story, but an adventure which stops only because of publication requirements, for the events appear to continue into an unforeseeable future.

Wiswall's friend, Veasie Rowe, published his adventure tale in three consecutive issues entitled "Adrift on an Ice-field" a few years earlier in 1883 (*Youth's Companion* 56: 380+). It, too, is of the "and then . . . and then . . . and then . . ." type of structure indicative of the adventure genre. The crew of twenty men and boys on a sealing schooner, plus the captain's wife and little boy, are all friends and relatives from the same little village, so they feel like family to one another. Rowe's description of the seal-hunt is an awful scene. When the boat comes upon the seals in their thousands and ten thousands "there begins such a slaughter of seal cubs as would make a tender-hearted person weep! For it is the 'bawlers'—the little, white, fat seal babies—which are most sought after."

A huge storm comes up, crushing the ice-pans together and forcing the ice-bergs onward at great speed. Finally one hits the schooner and crushes it. The captain goes down with the ship, but eleven men plus the woman and the child are saved upon the ice. They fend off starvation by killing a polar bear until they sight a Norwegian brigantine. In order to board her the narrator/hero must make a raft on which to cross the whirl pool. One man dies in the attempt, but for the rest all goes well until the ship goes aground because of the wind and ice pans. The passengers next set out for a hundred mile hike round the coast, which events Rowe foreshadows: "Thus far we had proceeded quietly on our journey expecting little more than to endure a long, hard tramp, through a wild, snowy region of country; we little thought of what was before us" (401). This mention anticipates wolves which would be before them, a hundred in a pack; wolves which keep them holed up in a brush barrier for four days until they leave the area. Finally they hear the shots of two Micmac Indian hunters who guide them back to their homes. Rowe ends his tale with this paragraph:

> But home is home, even though desolate and stricken with disaster. We are trying to repair our losses and build another schooner; and in apology for this poor attempt at authorship, I may as well confess, that it has been in the hope of helping out our scanty stock of money a little, that I have lent so unaccustomed a hand as that of a fisherman to the task of writing out a narrative of our shipwreck in the ice. (401)

The various episodic sections of both Wiswall and Rowe's stories are more gripping than many of the tales by the multiple-entry professionals because of their simplicity. The language has an oral quality. The writing is strong, naturalistic, simple—qualities admired by the twentieth century—and can't be dismissed. The episodes have a poignancy because of life and death realities that is often missing from tales structured according to the cultural principles of the society at large.

Turning now to the prairies and ranch life of western Canada as viewed by the British author, Argyll Saxby, we read "Chums Again: A Story of Modern Ranche Life" (*Young England* 23: 1-3). It opens mid-brag: the two teenage protagonists are boasting about their riding horses, they quarrel, and as a result separate the two horse herds and don't speak for three weeks. As it happens, Ted's approach one day so startles Dick's high-spirited horse "Dandy" that it runs away with him. Ted gives chase on his own solid, trustworthy horse "Bess." At this point the author makes the unfortunate choice of changing verb tense from past to present. The device itself is not uncommon, but in this case it does not serve well—the drama is neither heightened nor the suspense increased. It merely draws undue attention to itself.

Ted's rescue manoeuvres are less than realistic. For one thing, it seems unlikely that Dick would turn around and look behind with a terrified face while riding a run-away horse headed directly for the edge of a river bank. There would not be time, at a distance of fifty yards, for Ted to shout instructions to Dick, then deliberately lasso the head of the run-away horse. We are told that all this happened from a position directly behind, but only if the heights of the two horses were significantly different would it be possible. The roping kills the run-away horse, yet the rider catapulted from its back suffers no serious injury. Dick dusts himself off, thanks Ted, who modestly defers all credit to his trusty horse "Bess," whereupon the quarrel is mended and the boys swear to be chums for life.

Undeveloped as adventure, the stereotypical characterisation announces events before they happen, a practise not to be confused with the subtleties of true foreshadowing. Note the difference in name and temperament of the animals as an indicator of future behaviour. But the codes of gentlemanly sportsmanlike conduct are all there on Ted's part: modesty, pluck, loyalty, daring, skill, common sense. Dick's error is in not quite living up to the standard of the true boy of Empire.

A story with the title "The Soul of A Coward: A Story of the Canadian Backwoods" (*Young England* 29: 183-87) must inexorably lead to a moral. We know by now that cowardice is a major breach of the ethic for an Imperial boy-hero, cannot be justified, and merits a severe penalty. W. M. Elkington provides a thorough physical description to buttress his evaluation of the character and family background of the blackguard—none. Perhaps Irish, maybe from the Eastern United States, Kelly has no family and no background to escape or to uphold, and the reader is given no clue as to his reasons for a sour disposition, or for his hatred of the Dixon brothers. Accidents abound at lumber camps, many happen to Jack, the younger Dixon brother, and each time Kelly rescues him, until one day when Kelly plans to kill Jack (184). Forthwith Jack climbs a fifty-foot tree, Kelly chops off the limbs from the lower thirty feet, and then proceeds to chop down the huge tree. Jack faints, Kelly finds a letter Jack had written to his brother extolling Kelly's ability and person, so Kelly changes his mind and rescues Jack. But this time Kelly is severely injured when the tree falls on his leg and crushes it. The tale ends years later with Jack as the boss of his own lumber camp and Kelly working for him as cook. Kelly says "he lost his leg at the same time that he found his soul" (187). And so, four and a half pages later, we wind up with what we knew from the title to begin with. This tale is an example of how the basic patterns of the highly popular adventure genre can be co-opted into a moral exemplum; adventure becomes the spoonful of sugar to make the medicine go down. It doesn't make the tale a very good one, but it does speak to the expectations for the genre during the period.

Arthur E. McFarlane wrote a number of tales for *The Youth's Companion* between 1902 and 1904 about working-class heroes. The brutal employment of an eighteen-year-old pile driver is subject for "Haskery's Gang" (78: 552-53; 565-66) which, despite the horrors of work in the under-water chamber, nevertheless celebrates the heroic deaths of the men who died setting the piers for the bridge: "they went as men ought to be proud to go, for they died fighting, carrying on the battle of mankind against all the fierce resisting power of nature" (566). This is the same language used for the Imperial boy-hero who is the inheritor of the medieval chivalric values of a glorious death for the sake of a noble cause. Later in the story the concept is again emphasised: "And if a man dies in his work, I say he dies at the post of honor." Virtue is rewarded in this tale as it generally is, and eighteen-year-old Jimmie is destined for a rags to riches elevation by the end of the story.

A collection of McFarlane's adventure tales about the dangers of deep-sea diving were published in four instalments, the first and third comprising the front-page feature story for *The Youth's Companion*. "Tales of a Deep-Sea Diver" (76: 49-50; 77; 125-26; 155) are connected only loosely by subject for, with the exception of the first-person narrator, no characters carry over from one to another. These adventure stories have great appeal because of their interesting setting, the unusual subject matter, and the intense action.

Norman Duncan's stories of working youths are among the best adventure tales in the later periodicals. His long short-story "Stout Hearts and Red Decks" was published simultaneously by *Youth's Companion* (80: 320+) in the United States and by *The Captain* (15: 335+) in England during the summer of 1906. As Archie Armstrong from St. John's, Newfoundland, the fourteen-year-old son of the sealing ship's owner, is about to set off for a sealing adventure with Captain Hand, the ageing Skipper John sends him off with the old toast, "Red decks, an' many o'them!" Archie knows the correct response: "Red decks," replied Archie, quoting the old proverb, "make happy homes" (*YC* 320). The idea of a ship's deck covered with seal blood has limited appeal these days in an age of conservationist and animal rights activism, but the title suggests that the paired adventure motifs of a stout-hearted young hero who stands on a deck bloodied with his conquests were, a hundred years ago, positive cultural icons.

From the first, the story establishes the primacy of the matter of honour. The ship's captain, for example, won't leave harbour a second before it is legal. He is rewarded for his honesty, for the ice jam that was blocking the harbour cracks of its own weight just minutes before midnight, the time at which all the sealing boats race to exit the harbour in order to be the first on the sealing ice. Just who Archie is in all of this, is not left to any subtle conjecture: "So Archie Armstrong, son of a colonial knight, bred to comfort and nice manners, which, as it may appear, are not incompatible with strength and fortitude, was on the bridge, with old Captain Hand, through an hour of crucial moments" (321). Together, the boy and his mentor, the Captain, watch and wait for the iceberg to capsize. At this point the narrator cannot resist entering the action and commenting directly on the Captain's psychological acuity:

> The skipper walked over to [Archie] and slapped him heartily on the back. "Well, b'y" he cried, "how d'ye like the sealin'?" That was a clever thought of the skipper! Here was a man in peril who could await the issue in light patience. The boy took heart.
>
> "I knew what it was when I started," he said, with a gulp.
>
> "Will she make it, think you?" Another ruse of this great heart! Let the boy have part in the action. Archie felt the blood stirring in his veins.

Here the Captain becomes more than the boy's mentor—he constructs the events themselves, and the construction uses the terms of adventure fiction.

Every adventure hero needs a foil, and Archie's is the stow-away Jonathan ("Jack") Bow. Both are Newfoundlanders, the "same in strength, feeling, spirit, and, indeed, experience." Archie is "robust, alert, tawny-haired, and fearless in wind and high sea" (320), while Jack is "a tow-headed, blue-eyed, muscular boy of Archie's age, or less." Usually a foil is useful for the contrast s/he presents, but in this case Archie is more of a duplicate hero but with a class difference, for he wears "goatskin boots, a jacket of deerskin, and a flaring red scarf." This, along with the dialect he speaks, is enough to establish Jack's working-class roots. Thus, worthy in his own way, his character is vouched for by the Captain, who knows Jack's father to be a hard-working Labrador fisherman. When the sealing begins, Archie requests Jonathan's companionship. As a result:

> In five minutes the two boys were chatting like sociable magpies as they crawled, jumped, climbed over the uneven pack. They were Newfoundlanders both—the same in strength, feeling, spirit, and, indeed, experience. The one was of the remote outports, where children are reared to toil and peril. The other was of the city, son of the well-to-do, who, following sport with a boy's eager enthusiasm, had become used to the same toil and peril. (329)

While both boys participate in perilous deeds, their purposes differ, and class issues are hard-edged. The working-class boy faces danger in order to make his living, the affluent boy as a matter of sport. This distinction places Norman Duncan far closer to the British upper-class notions of sport than to that of the Americans.

Throughout, Duncan furnishes the reader with detailed information about the boat, the sea, the ice, the sailors, the different kinds of seals they encounter, and how they are slaughtered and prepared for market. Together the boys attack a ferocious hood seal, "as big as an ox—a massive, flabby, vicious beast." They save each other's lives just in time, but the dramatic fight is brought up short by a change in the direction of the ice floe and they each run for the ship. The seal they could not kill is anthropomorphized into a genuine anti-hero worthy of respect : "The gallant old dog hood followed the retreating figures with his eyes; then, well satisfied with himself, he slipped into the water and went fishing" (329). The boys are running for their lives and the seal is having a lazy-day summer-time of it, swimming and fishing! The weather changes abruptly, imperilling the lives of the men and boys on the ice in the ensuing blizzard, but they all pull together. The rescue by those on shipboard saves their lives, they move on to even better sealing grounds, and soon "The decks ran red, in truth. Dangers, hardship and toil had not daunted these stout hearts. They pursued the hunt with high-beating courage; and every day of the labor Archie Armstrong passed with them on the ice" (350). The story ending restores the privileges of class as Archie's father rewards the sailors for the safe return of his son, but in such a way that the shipping and the sealing and the friendships go on into plans for the future in true adventure-fiction style.

The propensity for Canadian authors to write against the class lines traditionally associated with adventurers and adventuring marks a distinctive break with the past and forms an original contribution to the genre. As well, certain Canadian authors demonstrate a flexibility in respect to the rules of plot and characterisation inherited from adventure's European origins concerning matters of race (as seen in Chapter IV). We shall see shortly how these authors work with matters of gender in the adventure genre.

Domestic Adventures

The status of women in British North America changed between the era of *The Snow Drop* and the era of the later periodicals. In the very early days of colonisation, women had been in scarce supply, since the British men who came for fishing and logging and other rugged occupations besides trade with the Indians for furs came alone. In the fur trade era, the English and Scots traders generally took Native common-law wives for both economic and survival reasons. Between Les Filles du Roi sent to New France by Louis XIV in the mid-seventeenth century (1663-1673) and the unsophisticated Dutch Hurdy-Gurdy girls sent to the Cariboo gold rush more than 200 years later in the1860s, Canada was home for unnumbered pioneer women. Interestingly, these pioneer women actually had more independence and higher status in their communities than did the semi-skilled city women of later decades. For example, traditionally they were allowed to use the money from eggs, cream, and garden produce as their independent right (Woodcock 131). Despite tremendous hardships and incessant work, pioneer women had the dignity of working as equal partners with their husbands because their skills were essential for the success of the farm.

At mid-century when *The Snow Drop* was published, the status of women was in great flux. Women had originally held the franchise in Canada, but by the time of the Assembly in 1834 Louis Papineau averred that politics was too rough a pastime for women to handle. Married women who had formerly had the right to their own property, were disenfranchised by the Act of Union in 1840. The trend continued into New Brunswick in 1843, and Nova Scotia in 1851, and by the time of the Confederation of

British provinces in North America coalesced to form the Dominion of Canada, women lacked not only the franchise, but legal rights and economic status as well.

Women in 1867 still carried many of the restrictive societal burdens associated with their mothers and even a few more, since Confederation did nothing to restore the franchise, or confer economic status and legal rights. Married women, for example, were not to regain rights to own their own property until 1882. Various women's organisations grew in numbers during the 1890s, and they included members advocating suffrage, but female property owners were not allowed the right to vote until after World War I had begun. Drunkenness had long presented real cause for fear and alarm, and temperance groups which arose in the 1870s continued as an active community addition throughout the remainder of the century.

On both sides of the Atlantic the 1860s saw a decline in child mortality, an increase in the economic prosperity of the middle classes, and a widening of opportunity for secondary schooling. Adolescence was being recognised as a distinct phase, both physiologically and psychologically, and increasingly, the well-being of children and youths was protected by laws which regulated work hours and conditions. In fact, as the number of children in these nations decreased, youth itself came to be held up as a halcyon stage of life. (This is a notion the twentieth century consistently upholds.) Hence, literature for the young became a "need."

In the young adult periodical literature under consideration, although religion and church were seldom mentioned as such, the tone of the stories was still decidedly moral. But it was a morality filtered through various codes of conduct—chivalry and imperialism being among the most compelling of the popular formulas in the last decades of the nineteenth century. A revival of the code of mediaeval Chivalry had become increasingly popular from the late eighteenth century, where it began among the upper classes. Throughout the nineteenth century it filtered down through the classes, and also through the age groups, until by the last decades of the century, it had become enshrined as the public school epitome of gentlemanly conduct. In many respects imperialism became infused with chivalry and inseparable in people's minds from the Christian churches themselves.

From Britain came the concept of Muscular Christianity, a particular slant on Christian living which emphasised "an association between physical strength, religious certainty, and the ability to shape and control the world around oneself" (Hall 7). In some forms and in some authors it took on a singularly "macho" tone, with the traditional qualities of manliness—boldness, honesty, plainness, defiance of authority, stoic patience, and violent energy. But the intent of the movement was to balance the feminine virtues of Christian life—peacefulness, forgiveness, patience, long-suffering—with those other masculine qualities thought to have been erroneously removed from Christian living. Once the fusion occurred, Christianity could be restored to its earlier place of centrality in British culture. In this way Muscular Christianity became inextricably bound up with the rhetoric of the cult of manliness, which in turn became fused with Imperialism, both of which peaked in popularity in England of the 1890s, and came to significantly influence cultural attitudes in Canada.

The role of all churches at the time was to provide comfort, moral values, spiritual guidance, and, where necessary, social assistance. Yet, Canadian society was far from tranquil. Nineteenth-century religious life did not prevent divisions and tumult from erupting in the social sphere, for there was a great deal of intolerance. In discussing the way in which religious revivalism, such as ultramontanism in the Catholic sphere and Evangelicalism in the Protestant, was of greater concern than money-making and politics to Canadians, W.L. Morton observes in his essay on "Victorian Canada" that "Religious life in Canada was touched, indeed infused, by all these surges of religious ardour; and in Canada they were if anything more fervid than in Europe. Religion was the chief guide of life for most Canadians; it touched all matters from personal conduct to state policy" (314).

To imbue faith in God into the members of a congregation was still the main goal of religion but, increasingly, sermons were aimed to help people understand their relationship to the culture around them. Canadians tended to follow the lead from British churches rather than from the American with the result that, as Goldwin French points out in his essay entitled "The Evangelical Creed in Canada," religion in British North America was "less pagan and less detached from its past than in the United States" (17). Similarly, Canadians remained church-goers in greater numbers than Americans: from 1850 to 1870 more than fifty percent of Canadians claimed church membership as compared to only about fifteen percent of Americans (18). Canada remained highly susceptible to the influence of British religious practice throughout the century, with religious influences from the United States being somewhat less compelling.

Religious intolerance was also a hallmark of Canadian society in the 1850s. Unfortunately, much of this narrow tolerance was based on economic issues such as social mobility or social degradation. The culture's gradual adoption of the philosophy of humanism supplanted former religious doctrines until many aspects of social interaction had no spiritual basis. In the literature of the period, good deeds were nearly always rewarded materially, which made wealth a positive indicator of the value of the person. A prevailing attitude held that if a child associated with poor children at church or school, the chances were good that the illnesses, diseases, and bad habits associated with poverty would contaminate the child as well. Another attitude held that success came to the virtuous, those favoured by the Lord. It was axiomatic, then, that lack of success must indicate the Lord's disapproval and the person's intrinsic lack of virtue. As Francis, Jones, and Smith describe it, "The prevailing ethos held that success came to those who worked hard; frustration and failure could only be the result of waste and a lack of individual initiative" (*Origins* 284). The Church dominated all aspects of private life from spiritual matters to social attitudes to choices of political affiliation.

Religion influenced people's thinking and actions as heavily in the years after Confederation as it had in the years before. As a colony, Canada could not have legal separation of church and state, but at the time of Confederation this was assured. Throughout the nineteenth century, both in rural areas and the city, the church remained the principal social centre of a community. Roman Catholics made up 40 percent of the population, with the remainder divided amongst the four largest Protestant denominations, Anglican, Methodist, Presbyterian, and Baptist.

Children's literature in both Britain and America at mid-nineteenth century retained strong influences from the Evangelical tracts of the religious revivals experienced in each country from the end of the eighteenth century through the early decades of the nineteenth. Both literatures relied on patterns of domestic realism, but boy's literature diverged from this pattern at the time adult adventure fiction became popular. Girls' literature remained oriented far longer to the sentimental or domestic novel, as well as to the didactic tracts which described appropriate behaviour according to one's station in life. But popular or not, girls' fiction never reached the higher levels of social acceptance, as boys' fiction did. The marginalized nature of female identity during the period may have contributed to critical assumptions about the inferiority of the literature girls read. In a different way, the adventure tales written for boys also tended to be the object of discrimination by learned circles. The readership of boys' literature was not determined by gender, according to Kimberley Reynolds in her study of the audience for various categories of popular children's fiction, for in fact, girls' reading tastes were far-reaching and covered a very broad scope of literature including that which was published for their brothers (Girls Only xviii-xxi).

Among Canadian contributors, it is the lesser-known female writers such as Annie Howells Frechette, Ella J. Fraser, and Mrs. Groser who include adolescent females as well as boy/girl sibling combinations in their stories; the characters created by better known authors such as Lucy Maude Montgomery and Sara Jeannette Duncan were almost exclusively male, as were those of the male adventure writers. It can be argued that the status of Frechette, Fraser, and Groser as writers of tertiary importance may actually be a result of their choosing to write the stock domestic fiction story which, with little plot and stereotypical characters, was so derivative as to be inherently less interesting than the equally derivative adventure fiction which at least contained incident. Over and over again, the authors who wrote in the adventure genre produced more arresting plots and story-lines.

The children's books of England and the United States were widely read by citizens of the other, including Canada, which, significantly, did not develop a popular press of its own as did other, more isolated colonies such as Australia, during the same period. Texts entering

Canada thus carried a division of impulse with which Canadian parents had to struggle. (Of course, Canadian authors were to struggle with it as well, as can be seen by the movement patterns in the career of an author like Charles G.D. Roberts, who grew to young manhood in Canada, spent much of his publishing life in the United States, and as he grew older, moved to England, only to return to Canada before his death.) The tales from the United States tend to show the American girl as having more freedom to romp with her brothers in the out-of-doors, and generally play the hoyden during childhood, as long as she conformed to societal controls in the later years of adolescence. Other differences abound: frequently Americans wrote about the food they ate, the family table in the kitchen, and the warmth and camaraderie of mealtime conversations; on the other hand, the drawing room culture of middle and upper-class British readers would not approve such liberties in a well-brought up child from a proper nursery. And so, Canadian parents faced a cultural dilemma which could only be answered by the necessities of life that residence in Canada required them to experience. The range of these we can deduce from the subjects the authors wrote about in the periodicals for children.

To begin with, let us examine some of the domestic tales in the mid-century publication, *The Snow Drop*. Published during a time when Canadian communities were experiencing flux of various kinds in their social balance, the tone of the periodical is the ubiquitous "family life as usual." But what constitutes "as usual" was not always consistent. The periodical's domestic fiction follows the strong lead set by the British novel writers in their development of characters, settings, and plots rather than the equally dominant adventure mode developed out of the New World travel-literature by adaptive American writers. Even when the writers use a New World setting, no matter how many adventures come to the protagonists along the way in domestic fiction, they always come as an evil from outside. The focus of the story remains "how to get home," and the happy ending involves reunion in a domestic setting—all part of the British formula for domestic fiction.

The title "Mark and His Sister" (I: 265+) would seem to privilege the older brother. In fact, it tells equally how each sibling works outside the home after their father's death to make a living for themselves and their "quiet, uncomplaining mother." This tale is not the stuff of adventure, for the children are being groomed for service. Both are taught not to use the front door of the Squire's house, and Mark is taught gardening and the qualities of industry, hard work, and the avoidance of self-pity. Patty, meanwhile, is admonished as to her "place" when it comes to wearing aprons too gay for a poor girl; her watchwords are to be "Patience, and "Perseverance." Through a series of mundane events the children are taught to keep their place, not to aspire to more than they have, and to spurn wealth in favour of peace and contentment. Their reward will be to grow into "fine manliness" and "lovely womanliness." This fiction is not much more than a conduct manual with a little bit of plot introduced. Later readers would view it as an accumulation of the domestic fiction clichés of mid-century.

"The Two Friends," written several years later (II New Series: 12-14) advises young women quite differently. When Emily confesses she wants new clothes despite her father's financial difficulties, her older friend, Priscilla, advises her to take her destiny into her own hands. She must ignore other people's opinions, assess her own skills and talents, anticipate events rather than waiting for something to happen, and above all "take a stand and maintain it." Priscilla further offers to be Emily's mentor (a role 150 years has not replaced in a young woman's life), and continues in this office by advising Emily to be physically fit. "There are latent powers rusting for want of use. Your blood is stagnant from deficiency of exercise." Priscilla's strong talk encourages Emily to make a life for herself beyond what her father's straightened circumstances will allow. The message of the final paragraph reads like point blank feminist tracts: "May her example prove to our young ladies that honest independence is far better than gilded penury; and that the bread of industry is infinitely sweeter than that furnished by fathers, brothers, uncles or friends." Clearly, the unsteadiness of the nation's financial climate is being addressed here, and whether the country of origin for the tale is England, the U.S., or Canada does not change the message: life may bring sudden shifts of fortune, ladies, so prepare yourselves with a skill which will support you during these times.

A similar message by Mrs. Sigourney in "The Father; an Instructive Sketch" (IV: 76) reads:

> It is the duty of mothers to sustain the reverses of fortune. Frequent and sudden as they have been in our country, it is important that young females should possess some employment by which they might obtain a livelihood, in case they should be reduced to the necessity of supporting themselves. When families are unexpectedly reduced from affluence to poverty, how pitifully contemptible it is to see the mother desponding or helpless, and permitting her daughters to embarrass those whom it is their duty to assist and cheer.

The father is a merchant who loses his fortune and sells everything. The family moves house, engaging in cottage industry and folk-arts productions for their maintenance. The story ends with the winsome daughter advising her father "We were none of us happy when we were rich and did not work. So, father, please not to be a rich man any more."

This didactic tale does not demonstrate the freedom of choice as in the former story—it appears the husbands and the brothers are highly dependant upon this female cheer—and the remainder of the tale shows all the values of female perseverance and hard work in place.

These three stories, coming before the U.S. Civil War as they do, give a strong indication of the mind-set necessary for middle-class survival during the period. The shifts of economic fortune were sudden and devastating, and it was up to the entire family to stabilise themselves before, during, and after such financial reversals. The significance of these stories to later adventure fiction needs examination, for had female characters remained in stereotypical roles such as angel of the hearth, or supporter of male family members, the later Canadian stories of independent females engaged in adventurous pursuits could not have been written.

Canadian writers for the late-nineteenth-century periodicals were presented with two strong formulas to imitate or reject: the domestic tale or the adventure tale. Since innovation was heartily discouraged in these periodicals, rejection of the formula was not a possibility. Largely what the Canadians did was to include women and children within their adventure code. This inclusion may in actuality be more innovative than the editors of the periodicals realised, for there they are—women and children fighting off wild animals, braving the perils of climate, negotiating between racial propensities, working hard to help the family earn a living, enduring the calamities of life at the frontier.

This innovation is not to be seen in the British periodicals under study here for, among the hundreds of Canadian adventure stories they contain, only half a dozen tales contain women at all, and none is focused as protagonist. The numbers are significantly different for the American periodicals, a fact which reveals appreciable contrasts in the concept of adventure depending on national origins. Of the approximately 80 tales published in the American periodicals, about 65 percent were published by *Youth's Companion* and about 27 percent by *Golden Days*. In these stories girls and women sometimes act alongside the males in parallel heroic roles rather than in the traditional supporting positions, and sometimes they are the featured protagonists.

Martin Green in *The Great American Adventure* (1984) writes that "The adventure tale was written almost exclusively for a masculine audience. It has been the main literary means by which males have been taught to take initiatives, to run risks, to give orders, to fight, defeat, and dominate; while females have been taught, both by being ignored by the genre and by being reduced to passive roles within it, *not* to do those things" (2). As a general rule and as to adult fiction, this is probably true. But what we find in the young adult stories by Canadians is an increasing tendency for them to include females right along with the males.

Concerning women's roles, Robert H. MacDonald observes in *The Language of Empire* (1994) that the British Empire's discursive practices include a system in which "the feminine is marked particularly by absence" (15). Real men ride and shoot, are strong, and clean and pure, while young women are expected to assume roles of passive resignation and to spend their time in good works. They are, after all, future mothers of men, and they are to be there when needed; this is, of course, an especially patriotic role since society approves that their brothers will take all the resources of the family for their own educations (37). This pattern is contradicted by many young adult Canadian adventure stories, for young women are very much present. The concessions the authors seem to feel they must make to societal values is to have the girl show an emotional weakness after the climax of the adventure is past. This often amounts to not much more than a veneer of stereotypical behaviour to make up for what otherwise might be considered the abnormal behaviour of participating in an adventure.

The stories published by these late-century British and U.S. periodicals reflected various historical realities such as looser female behaviours which challenged former norms, changes in hair (not yet skirt) lengths, access to higher education, and the introduction of the "madcap" character to women's fiction in order to normalise more extravagant deviations from the expected. A strong sense of home as being the best and highest sphere for the aspirations and talents of young women, though broadening perceptibly, continued to prompt publication of a great many domestic tales. Many of the domestic tales presage the movement of women characters into this male purview—an untoward innovation, and one significantly Canadian. In adolescent fiction we see the pattern of the absent, or silent, or adversarial, or inspirational female challenged. Because the influence of domestic fiction was so very strong, the stories we will examine contain combinations of the elements of both genres, but gradually stories featuring girls began to conform to the codes of the adventure genre.

Girls and women are on the periphery of four rather conventional mystery tales written by H. Mortimer Batten for *The Captain* in 1913, "Birdett the Trailer" (29:628+). The Canadian setting and the first person narrator are the two constant elements in this series. Characters, beyond the stock hero figure, involve an assortment of villains of various ethnic origins, and the plots are limited to a sprinkling of romance, with complications replete with wild animals of various hue and claw, and storms of varying intensity and temperature. Who stole the fur-trapping money? Who killed the two trappers? Who stole the gold bullion? Who stole the gold dust? All of these questions receive answers in some fairly smooth narrative writing. But mystery tales were either not an editor's favourite sub-genre for a gentry periodical, or else not the choice of the authors of Canadian tales for, to my knowledge, other than W. E. Maclellan's less than satisfying "The Little River Mystery" (No. 2 of "Stories by Lawyers," *Youth's Companion* 71: 109-10), these are the only mysteries in the entire collection.

How the few crime stories and the mystery tales written about those crimes, passed the rigorous censorship of the editor's desk and appeared for publication in these periodicals for the middle and upper classes we do not know. The crime story was published heavily by other periodicals such as the "bloods" which catered to the taste for sensationalism. It is an essential sub-genre of adventure fiction that achieved status approaching *carte blanche* during the decades before the First World War.

The temperance tale surfaced from time to time as a bulwark of domestic fiction and was handled with varying degrees of skill by a number of Canadian authors including Marshall Saunders and Ernest W. Thomson. One of the more unusual plots occurs as a cross-pollination between domestic fiction and adventure in Thomson's "An Adventure on the River" (*Youth's Companion* 62: 427). In the frame, a well-known lawyer tells his buddies in a fishing club-house how a paddle-wheel steamboat ran down he and his son while they were fishing. They escape death by jumping into the water while holding a 56-pound weight and sinking below the dangerous paddle-wheel. The lawyer sues the paddle-wheel company for damages but the entire crew denies all knowledge of the incident. After much cross-examination, the crew admit they had all been drinking whisky, so the truth was being told on both sides—the crew really had not seen the fishing boat. The temperance theme is soft-pedalled in this tale, whereas it is generally touted loudly and without subtlety or artistry. This plot is far more satisfying than that of Thomson's "In Full Flood" (*Youth's Companion* 59: 229-30), which leaves the psychological and physiological aspects of a teetotaller, after a long history of alcoholism, completely unexplored.

For the most part, the young adult periodicals under discussion here were aimed at the middle and upper classes according to income and education, and as a default position they ruled out love stories of any sort. Nevertheless, some passed the editor's desk. Charles G. D. Roberts, for example, had achieved a certain popularity from publishing adult romance novels, cloying in the extreme by current standards of taste. While his short fiction romances followed closely in the pattern, the brevity of the medium works to his advantage, for many of the short stories are better work than his novels.

"The Peril of the Green Pool" (*Youth's Companion* 81: 187) describes how an American girl, living with family members as tourists in Cuba, flaunts her liberty audaciously, almost indecently by local standards. Roberts leaves his readers with no doubts of exactly how much spirit and adventure is proper for this heroine:

> At home it was nothing for her to sail her boat alone, and in her bathing suit when it so pleased her. But here in Cuba no lady could possibly dream of such a performance unless she happened to be one of those 'crazy Americans.' This was what she knew her Cuban friends called all her countrymen; and knowing, too, that she was called the craziest of them all, she took wilful delight in giving them, as she was wont to put it, 'something to talk about.'

> But she was not crazy by any means, this tanned, athletic girl with the gold-brown hair and laughing but steady gray eyes. Elsie Cawles was daring, but not reckless. She knew how to swim or to handle a catboat as well as did her three athletic brothers.

This description of an American girl, written in 1907, leads one to think of Henry James' American heroines, and certainly Roberts would have had access to all but James' very last publications. More significantly, Roberts draws his heroine in the Imperial boy-hero pattern of athleticism, courage, and daring, all attributes of adventure genre characterisation.

Elsie has opportunity to display her courage and nerve shortly, for following her swim in a beautiful clear pool, an octopus seizes her leg and foot. She struggles against the assailant with strength and ingenuity, but it remains for a passing Cuban horseman, of gallant disposition, to effect the actual rescue. When he dramatically flings the remains of the octopus into the water, she thanks him in Spanish and "forthwith [falls] into a fit of hysterical weeping and laughter." He is "hopelessly embarrassed" but finally, "despairing of any intelligible commands from *la bella Americana*, the Cuban pulled up the anchor stone, rowed the boat ashore, moored it securely, set Elsie, faintly protesting, on his horse, and led her back to the pink *quinta* at the head of the little bay." Those words end the tale.

Elsie opens as a robust adventurer and closes in defeat, emotionally and physically overcome. Roberts seems unable to carry through with creating the female in an independent adventurer's role, for he falls back into various stereotypes. A male necessarily performs the rescue, she is emotionally unhinged at the end of the ordeal, and even led docilely home on the back of a stranger's horse. That Elsie's freedom is cut short by a near-fatal attack from the many-limbed monster of the deep, is an apt metaphor. Is this a punishment for a woman who dares to act the adventurer's role? Saved by an exotic man, the Other is valorised in the story to parallel the equal exoticism of the American girl's role.

Roberts does manage to get it right in his story "'Melindy' and the Lynxes" (*Youth's Companion* 80: 183-84), written a year earlier. A grandmother and granddaughter live far from town and, as the story opens, are snowed in. The girl knows her grandmother is critical of many things about her such as her small stature, her delicate colouring and fluffy hair, and her fear of using a gun, but when two starving lynxes attack the little flock of sheep in mid-day she unhesitatingly grabs an axe to beat them off. The lynxes, of course, both turn upon her. But the massive old grandmother, crippled with rheumatism, has been able to slide her huge chair across the floor, reach the gun and, with a front door view of the events, awaits her opportunity for firing upon the lynxes.

At the point where Melindy faces the lynxes, she is one in purpose and courage with adventure heroes the world over. "Although the first victim was now past all suffering, being no more a motive for heroism than so much mutton, the girl's blood was too hot with triumphant indignation to let her think of such an unimportant point as that. She was victor. She had outfaced and routed the foe. She had saved one victim. She would avenge the other." This is characterisation parallel to that of masculine adventure heroes. Further, she is placed in a masculine plot structure in which the wild denizens of the forest are brought into subjection to man through dint of strength of muscle and of character; it is a masculine adventure plot because one lynx gets away and the reader knows it will return for the mutton rather than endure starvation. We can anticipate correctly that Melindy's acquaintance with the lynx has just begun. This is the first segment of what homesteaders know to be an ongoing battle with the colonial Others who have been displaced from their natural habitat.

But Roberts feels compelled to assert Melindy's femininity immediately: "dropping her ax, she fled to the cabin, flung herself down with her face in her grandmother's lap, and broke into a storm of sobs." Why does he do this? Why does E.W. Thomson? Why do many other adventure writers? I suggest that it has to do with the models for young women which parents held up to their off-spring as being appropriate conduct choices. The authors were writing adventure; they were using female characters in parallel situations with male. At some level they must have sensed the transgressiveness of this act, for they inevitably cloak the heroine's actions in traditional stereotypes of female characterisation so that the girls show a veneer of trembling incompetence immediately after their brave deed. Editors did not want to upset the status quo with characterisation that would offend adult purchasers. Without sales there would be no periodical. Besides, what better way to guarantee a sale that to fuse characterisation from a conduct manual with an adventure plot!

The undiluted didactic story of appropriate conduct, however, also remained current throughout the 1870 to 1914 period. Marshall Saunders, known for her animal stories, especially *Beautiful Joe* (1894), simply revelled in this medium. "Chronicles of the Graveleys" (*Youth's Companion* 77: 61+) consists of four sketches based on various members of one family. Each is not without interest, but comes so fully starched with advice as to make a rather stiff read. The grandmother's credo comes in list form: "Keep the family together, and you keep the clan together. Keep the clan together, and you keep the nation together. Foster national love and national pride, and you increase the brotherhood of man" (61). (The granddaughter adds to it: "Then the family is the rock on which the nation is built . . . ") "Anybody that is worth anything has enemies." There are "two kinds of life in America . . . Boarding-house life vulgarizes, home life ennobles" (62). "A united family is invincible." "A man cannot succeed unless his wife helps him" (89). Apparently the list is inexhaustible.

Certain patterns of proscribed conduct were intended to reinforce class position in society while marking a young girl's adherence as ethically virtuous. G. M. Waterman's tale "Mr. Coan's Lemon-Pie" (*Youth's Companion* 62: 3-4) involves the two plain, grown daughters of an elderly man and woman. One stays home to care for them; the other works as a char woman for the gentry in order to earn the family's living. After the manner of the upper class in the Old World tradition, the employers send baskets of food and used clothing home to her plebeian family as supplements to the girl's meagre cash earnings. Another class marker is exposed when the parson's wife laughs at how her pie intended for poor folk was eaten and enjoyed by sophisticated city people, and she had not even used the good-quality sugar. These girls' social positions are bedrock, inescapable, necessary—education will not change their destiny, neither will marriage. The girls are useful as subjects for stories in gentry periodicals only as colourful "characters," and while the authors appear sympathetic to their personalities, the girls are shown as solidly ensconced in appropriate class activities.

To quite an opposite purpose is Ethelwyn Wetherald's story about a young woman from a poor family who wants to get ahead, "Clarissa's Speculations" (*Youth's*

Companion 71: 362-63). The family is experiencing "reduced circumstances," implying that a sudden reversal of fortune has dropped them below their accustomed educational and class level. Hence, the children are all complaining about having nothing to read. When the father sees a "coarse-looking illustrated paper" he declares, "Better to read nothing than read such foolishness as that." Clarissa is ordered to burn it, but out of curiosity she takes it to her room to read at her leisure. She recognises the breathless quality of the prose and the excessive use of exclamation marks as indicative of poor literary quality, but she falls prey to the speculative business advertisements in the cheap paper and decides to try them out. First she sends ten cents' postage and gets a piece of obvious advice. She then sends fifteen cents and gets twelve clothes pins, which is double their usual price, according to a neighbour. Next she tries to sell subscriptions for a dollar, but since the price involves a twenty-five cent commission, no one will buy. Her attempts are exposed as the ruse that they are to part the uneducated from their money, and finally she is offered real work, honest work. The tale concludes with the moral summary: "I do know that speculation is not in my line." A tale of plebeian values overturned, speculation is shown to be antithetical to the gentry value system both for reasons of class, as well as practicality.

Gentry values continue to be upheld in tales such as E.W. Thomson's "Mr. McGrath's Bad Night" (*Youth's Companion* 60: 438-39) when the richest man in the neighbourhood takes responsibility not only for the physical well-being of the entire family of a former employee who had stubbornly refused to hire on again, but also their emotional well-being. When the family runs out of food, hunger drives Mr. McGrath to steal from the storehouses of his former boss. He is caught in the act, but his generous former boss gives him more than food and employment, he gives him back his self-respect.

Annie Howells Frechette tells a similar story, but makes a significant turn in the character of the gentry-value carrier when she locates this role in Mother Bathurst. "How She Saved the Captain" (*Youth's Companion* 59: 346-47) tells how a British remittance man's great need results in his dishonesty—he steals fire-wood from Mother Bathurst because he cannot afford to buy it. When her son and his friends plan to catch him in the act, she declares, "I don't like that at all. I think Johnnie might take a more manly course. I don't like traps." She goes to the Captain directly and tells him about the trap, and remains undaunted by his blustering anger. Mother Bathurst is unusual in her sense of personal independence, for she tells the Captain's wife that "You are welcome to all the wood your husband will cut off of my land. I live with my son, but I still control my own property; not but what he would gladly take care of his old mother if she hadn't a cent in the world, still it is a very foolish thing to give up one's rights. I always do as I please in every thing." She then meets with her son and the other up-in-arms neighbours to alleviate the man's need for fuel by offering him light work, and by devising ways to befriend him, further restoring the man's self-respect.

The significance of the fact that moral responsibility is in the hands of an economically independent female must not be lost. She can thwart an immoral trap, she can offer respite for a family suffering from the cold, she can give advice to her son and his friends, all because her ownership of property and her unfettered ability to pay gives her the freedom to speak, the ability to act.

A girl can even prevail against weather and terrain according to E.W. Thomson's 1894 tale, "A Heroine of Norman's Woe" (*Youth's Companion* 68: 346-47). Not only that, she can execute a dangerous rescue at sea with her younger brother in the midst of the terrors weather and terrain can pose. The tale is built in two parts. The first section opens with the observations of a passing stranger, narrated in some detail, which leads him to conclude that a boy on a deserted coastal island has murdered another boy, and has then escaped in a canoe despite a fierce storm. The second section is the oral narrative of a skipper who was complicit in the action and who can give the real explanation for the same set of observable movements. He tells a customer fishing on his boat the tale of how he and his older sister, years ago, had rescued at their great risk a boy who had just saved his buddy from bleeding to death after a fall, and who was about to be dashed to pieces on the rocks of Norman's Woe in his little canoe. The skipper confesses that his sister's courage drove him to effect the rescue, and that she was in every way as good a sailor as any man. The story ends with these lines: "But women is [sic] curious creatures. My sister burst out crying and left the wheel to me, and flung down into the cabin and lay there sobbing like her heart would break. 'To think she was so near forsaking him!' says she." The emotional response might be the period's stereotype for a woman who has just experienced trauma. But perhaps not. The emotion may be, rather, the girl's sensitivity of spirit juxtaposed with her great courage.

Theodore Roberts writes about an old woman who saves the lives of the young boys and old men of the village. When the wind drives an ice floe covered with seals to shore, the non-hunters go out for the slaughter. The winds then change direction and carry the hunters unaware back out to sea. "Mother Carey," written in 1908 (*Youth's*

Companion 82: 418-19), focuses on a woman from "up along"—meaning any place in the world except Newfoundland or Labrador—an outsider, in other words. She has never been accepted by the community and confesses that her prideful and narrow nature is partly to blame. Her rescue of the hunters wipes away years of loneliness and rejection; she awakens after her rest from the ordeal, to warmth and friendship.

Even younger girls can do a man's work. "Alice Andrews: Surveyor," serialised in six issues of the 1902 *Youth's Companion* (76: 421+), is E. W. Thomson's version of a heroine who demonstrates the pluck and independence equal to the male adventurers as she holds down a responsible job normally reserved for a male. It begins with a certain freshness, but as the instalments progress, Thomson is unable to sustain the characterisation and reverts to stereotypical elements to resolve his plot as well. But in shorter fiction, Thomson is able to sustain the theme of young girl as rescuer. In "Isobel Armstrong's Swoop" (*Youth's Companion* 83: 96-97) Isobel's brother breaks through thin ice while skating. Unable to haul himself up on the ice completely, his coat sleeves freeze to it, thus preventing him from falling back under the ice. His sister immediately determines that speed is necessary to preserve his life, so she lays one toboggan over the other and heads down the chute toward her brother. The thin ice holds, she jerks his arms free, and hauls him onto the second toboggan which can then be hauled to shore by the townsmen whose several plans had all failed. She is a hero, and the narrator's subsequent approbation speaks to her common sense in Imperial boy-hero terms: "She was a strong, healthy, brave girl—no fainting in her!"

The bare bones plot is adventure. Isobel was successful where "fifty strong, resourceful river-men [who] had started efforts at rescue" had failed. The characterisation, too, is the very model of the intrepid adventurer. But Thomson surrounds Isobel with the domesticity of her culture in such a way that it is easy to lose sight of the adventure aspect. She takes excellent care of her weak, invalided mother, and at her father's instruction she protects her mother from knowing of her son's peril, for alarming information could prompt the mother's death. The toboggans are the father's idea, and only in the absence of the male servant, or any other male in the house, does Isobel feel able to act in the heroic manner. The heroism and the adventure are there, but are heavily over-laden with the accoutrements of domestic fiction.

Grace Dean McLeod's "A Night in an Indian Canoe: A Story of Acadia" (*Youth's Companion* 59: 321-22) involves no such accoutrements. It does hold strong "noble savage" elements which will not be our focus in this discussion, and if there be any literary echo, perhaps it would be to certain images of the gothic novels, so popular earlier in the century. An eighteen-year-old Acadian girl was captured by the near-by Micmac Indians and lived with them for ten years, from age five to fifteen. They treated her well, and she retains many bonds of loyalty to them and their way of life. Thus, when she hears of the proclamation by the English that they will pay a bounty price for the extermination of each Indian, she is appalled. Her father and her fiancee go off to the kill, and she knows she cannot prevent their leaving, but she can warn the Indians of the plot.

In order to precede the Acadians, she must row her little canoe for many hours in the dead of night. When she becomes too fatigued to continue, she witnesses the moon shining on a sacred mountain of the Micmacs in such a way that she believes her prayer for strength has been answered. Her strength returns and she arrives in time to deliver her message with dignity. At first the Natives do not heed her warning, but she recites her spiritual experience with the light on the mountain, and pleads so eloquently for the braves to spare the lives of her father and fiancee, that the Indians believe her and decide to act upon her warning. The chief sends her home with an escort of strong warriors to paddle, but they keep her little canoe. On her wedding day, the canoe mysteriously appears laden with expensive furs and gifts. She does not tell the tale until years later when peace has been established with the Indians.

Yes, the tradition is romantic, but then adventure is romantic by definition. The significant issues here are that the girl acts in direct opposition to the two most powerful people in her life, both male. She acts alone, and she is successful, so successful, in fact, that years later no one has yet discovered her involvement in the disappearance of the Micmac from proximity to the Acadian village. No stereotypical weakness, trembling, or fearfulness attach to this character, and the story line is pure adventure.

Quite the opposite is Ella J. Fraser's description of a weak, fearful, nineteenth-century young mother as the main character in "The Great Miramichi Fire," written in 1825 (*Golden Days* 27: 686-87). This mother, in failing health, escapes with her family from the fire and because of cues in the characterisation, the reader is led to expect an ending in which the woman is comforted, the home life continues, and everyone has learned something or other, for that is what domestic fiction is all about. Instead, the woman's sea captain husband takes her on a sea voyage to recuperate. A voyage, the sea, open space, disposable time—these are the aspects of adventure, not domestic fiction. Curiously for adventure fiction, these episodes are written with the focus on the female.

That the mother survived the fire is adventure number one; that she goes on a sea-voyage to recover is adventure number two; and that the story ends with her two young sons petitioning the governor of the province for better schools is adventure number three. The ending cannot be predicted from the opening incident. This is poor writing if one thinks in terms of the domestic fiction novel, but entirely par for the course if one thinks in terms of adventure structure.

The heroine of Arthur McFarlane's "Cissy Make-Believe" (*Youth's Companion* 76: 233-34) is an avid reader of adventure tales, and from them she develops her sense of what it would be like to be free and strong and independent. Born a Canadian, McFarlane moved to the U.S. and never returned, and so it is difficult to assess where he acquired his attitudes but, at any rate, his adolescent female protagonist delivers a scathing opinion of girls' books:

> For girls' books she had the most burning contempt. They were all alike. No matter how well they began, they all came to the same maddening conclusion. Even if their heroines went out as nurses to the army, it was no time whatsoever before they showed of what miserable stuff they were really made; they fell in love in the very best part of the fighting, and the rest of the book was a dreary waste. (233)

Here we have a classic sounding of the frustrations felt by an adventurer trapped in the traditional rounds of domesticity. Although published prior to *Anne of Green Gables* (1908), the tale of Cissy shows remarkable similarities in characterisation to that of the later Anne. For both girls, the world of books and the imagination is paramount. Cissy asserts that, "in bookland she was no longer a girl; she was a viking discovering Greenland, or a crusading duke, or a captain in the Revolution, or the commander of a monitor in the war." Note that all the options listed are male roles, all are of adventurers, and all situations are preferable to her own. Cecily succeeds in an act of heroism and is rewarded with a college education, still a bastion of masculinity in 1902. It remains only for Cissy to act out her dreams of adventure.

But in the last section of the story, this is not what happens. Cissy experiences a change of heart about her gender so typical of Americans writing from the very non-British tradition in which young girls are allowed freedom from gender restraints as they romp and play with their brothers. Typically this fling at playing the "tom-boy" has to be curtailed when "womanliness" must take its place. For Cissy, "Her old secret lamentations over being a girl were giving place to a very outspoken thankfulness for being a woman, for whole new fields for teaching and working and doing good seemed to open before her which could never open to any man" (234). Thus is Cissy enculturated into mainstream domesticity; thus she loses touch with the adventurous part of her nature. Boys seem to be allowed to linger longer in the world of imagination, that is, adventure, whereas girls' actions in domestic fiction must mirror the responsibilities of the real world which they soon must shoulder.

One last tendency must be noted in this analysis of how the authors of Canadian content attempted to fuse the two divergent genres of domestic fiction and adventure. It comes as a rather surprising occurrence in these very masculinist tales, when boys are portrayed with tender emotions, or in roles that would seem to parallel the stereotypically feminine roles of the period. In *Boys Will Be Girls* (1991), Claudia Nelson investigates the phenomenon in British adolescent literature of the mid-nineteenth century. The chivalric aspects of manliness parallel aspects of womanliness associated with the Christian tradition. Both systems promoted certain estimable virtues such as self-control, self-sacrifice, and selflessness generally: "The chief difference between the two was merely one of presentation" (2). She bases the premise of her book on the belief that "the ideals of womanliness were presented to Victorian boys as the ideals of manliness" (5) and the pattern remained active in the literature until the 1880s (53).

The icon of the Angel in the House was invented by the nineteenth-century British poet Coventry Patmore, and stood for all that was good and pure and noble.

> Her [the Angel's] ultimate role was as the instrument of Victorian society's subversive quest to heal itself by undermining the precepts of aggression, selfishness, and competition upon which the male world depended. . . . Untainted by nineteenth-century capitalism, the Angel imaged an alternative society that valued gentleness, feeling, community, mutual respect, and spiritual equality. Victorian men might control money, but Victorian women could control life. (4)

To help orient the reader, the late twentieth-century encouragement of the sensitive male is a similar movement without the Christian philosophical underpinnings of the nineteenth century, for they both seek to valorise the tender qualities of pure manhood or boyhood.

Thus we see, in a tale such as W. Thomson's "John Prout's Grizzly" (*Golden Days* 14: 397-98), which is otherwise conventional adventure fiction, a seventeen-year-old boy in the Angel role. The party of six miners pick John up in the mid-west and though they first doubt whether he would earn his pay, they soon came to realise they had "come into possession of a perfect treasure; for John could sing charmingly, tell stories by the hour, and best of all, cook game and make bread and biscuit far better than any of us." His good nature soon produces a mystical, spiritual aura about him in the eyes of two old miners who "believed the boy to be inspired by some occult spirit of prophesy, and both insisted upon remaining so long as the 'grub' should last." They see in him "the very identical innocent to fetch luck," and declare that "There is something about it that we can't understand, but [we'll] bet on him every time." In this way John's character comes to be one based on his feminine, even spiritual qualities.

The men discover one morning that a grizzly bear has eaten one of the mules and the entire camp decides to stop hunting for the lost gold mine, and instead go on a hunt for the predator. They "set out on the war-path, leaving John to keep house." The men bag a puma, but otherwise come home tired-out and without the grizzly, so during the night John takes a gun and goes out to hunt by himself, all because of his fondness for the mules. The narrator is awakened in the night by shots from a Winchester rifle and rouses the other men, but they are too late to intercept John as he approaches the animal he shot. Apparently dead, the bear raises up in his death struggle to give the boy such a blow to the chest as knocks them both over a cliff. Both boy and bear fall a distance of about 45 feet, with the bear dying in the fall and the boy landing on top of it without injury. As John and the miners attempt to haul the bear up the mountain side, their efforts scrape the young aspen cover from the rock face and expose the old lost gold mine they had been searching for all along. In American style, John is rewarded for his role by an equal share in the mine, and the likelihood of becoming a millionaire.

The plot involves hunting, wild animals, a lost gold mine, seven strong men—in short, all the attributes of an adventure story. But the youngest of the men is put in the role parallel to the fag in the hierarchy of the British public school story. He is expected to do the female chores, to comfort the flagging spirits of the others, to entertain them with his music, to act the role of Angel in the House. Yet this amalgamation of characteristics of domestic and adventure is done so seamlessly that the story succeeds as entertaining fiction.

Another of Thomson's stories, "Petherick's Peril" (published eight years earlier in 1885 and discussed more extensively in a later chapter, "Adventurers Versus Weather and Terrain") ends with an interesting variation on the swooning heroine. The young man has just reached safety in the loop of rope which he is able to lift over his thighs to his arm pits "just as the dreaded reaction of weakness came. Then I lost consciousness," the narrator reports. When he awakens several weeks later to see "my dear mother's face . . . beside my pillow," he realises that "I had left my nerve on that awful cliff-side. Never since have I been able to look from a height or see any other human being on one without shuddering." This weakness is not allowable in any way within the stiff-upper-lip, let's-get-up-to-cold-showers-and-a-brisk-run sort of manly Imperial-boy model. We must assume that realism, which was then coming into vogue, had a counter-balancing effect on some of this fiction. Boys could be seen, not as towers of manly strength (albeit in progress), but simply as humans equally involved as their female counterparts in the growth and development process.

Late-twentieth-century critics and readers alike have been conditioned to think in terms of a "dawning of feminist thinking" when we encounter instances of courageous behaviour in female characters from earlier eras. In these stories, females who act assertively within the environment, who pursue higher education, or who make their own way economically in the world are typically labelled "feminist" whether as an endorsement or in denigration. In actuality, these impulses are all part of the male adventure code, a code which, surprisingly, seems to include a few women when the Canadians are considered. The name change from "adventure fiction" to "feminist fiction" when only the gender of the protagonist has changed, gives one pause. Perhaps "feminist" has become too laden a marker to hold useful distinctions; perhaps it is time to admit women to the male bastions of adventure without quarrel.

Chapter VI

Adventurers Versus Weather and Terrain

The climate of any country must be admitted into the critical arena at least as influencing, if not determining, the setting, the range, and even the outcome of events as expressed in the literature of that country. But in no literature does it have more influence than in that of the Canadian short adventure fiction for young adults. If the plot devices which cause difficulty, obstruction, or conflict in the variants of the adventure genre are laid bare, that is, whether the hunter gets the wild animal or not (including those few cases where the wild animal gets the hunter); whether the animal who is the adventurer escapes to live another day; whether the young colonialist wins the skirmish with the enemy; whether the hard-working youth overcomes his difficulty to become the hero—in any of these cases, weather and terrain are prominent factors, if not the controlling ones, in the outcome.

This pattern in which the country-side is the sole antagonist in the story can be found in certain stories in the early periodical *The Snow Drop*. When nature is a chief character it cannot be counted on to be benign, and in fact, *The Snow Drop* contains stories where weather or topography causes major disruption, even death. "The Frozen Crew" (II: 239) is one such. A mere sketch with no individuated characters, it opens with a brief history of the North-men, the Scandinavian movement to Iceland, and ends with a tale from the Danish colony on Greenland in which an ice ship is seen to sail by, a grisly spectre, for the dead crew is all frozen into position. Similarly, "The Young Grey Head" (I: 219-22) by the author E.J.D. is a story of a child's death following in the wake of a mother's poor decision to allow her young daughters to go to school on a day near Christmas despite her husband's pronouncement of a storm for later in the day. On the way home from school the storm hits the children with great force and one little girl slips into the water and drowns. A third story is modelled on the Hans Christian Andersen "Little Match-Girl" tale, but this version dedicates itself in the title to the antagonist, "The North Wind" (II New Series: 111-13). Of course, class issues are at play here, just as they are in the Andersen version, for the match girl is poverty stricken and is shown in comparison with the rich who don't buy her wares. But the North Wind is the aggressor, and appears to have successfully taken her life when she falls down, senseless, in the street. But not so—the child revives when friends from her neighbourhood come swarming out to look for her. The North Wind is foiled in its grim project.

Nevertheless, there are very few such tales in *The Snow Drop*. The sketches in this early periodical are most often set in-doors where Nature has little power, and what few admit Nature as a distinct out-door entity, tend to draw it as behaving in an essentially beneficent manner. Perhaps this is one of the reasons that so many of the critics of *The Snow Drop* regard it as less than Canadian in its cultural moorings. The young hero of "The Flower-Gatherer" (II New Series: 92-93) endures a violent summer storm in order to gather a basket full of wild flowers for his older sister who is sick. Fatigued with the activity, he falls asleep, and the ensuing storm scatters all the flowers in his basket; however, the rain also causes more flowers to bloom, and these he gathers in order to go home with an over-flowing basket. All is bucolic; no need for fear. In other words: all is England; not yet Canada. This idyll is definitely not in the tradition of writers transplanted from England who wrote about the Canadian wilderness such as Susannah Moodie or her sister Catherine Parr Traill, both of whom contributed to *The Snow Drop* and *The Maple Leaf* during the period.

As the century drew on, however, the stories of the Canadian wilderness for young adults, whether situated on land or sea, became increasingly the site for a brutal contest between the forces of nature and the will of young heroes. Lincoln Wilbar's tale "The Crazy Trapper" published in two consecutive issues of *The Boy's Own Paper* in 1909 (31: 263-64; 281-82) opens with a long, but interesting, description of the winter weather and the snow in the Keewatin District north of Lake Winnipeg where three men go to trap fur animals. During a cold, windy spell they go out to tend their lines, each parting ways, whereupon Pete is taken prisoner by another trapper, reputedly a madman. The friends succeed in overcoming him, escort the madman to the nearest logging camp, whose boss sees to it that he is taken to town to the authorities. The madman escapes from the jail during the night, and is found dead in the morning in the minus seventy degree weather, apparently preferring suicide to incarceration in a mental asylum. In this case, the weather is an enforcer equal to or surpassing that of the local constabulary in power, a completely believable outcome given that the setting is Canada.

The Captain published scores of tales by H. Mortimer Batten over the length of its run, eleven of which were published between 1910 and the cut-off date for this study of 1914. All highlight action, but "Over Lonely Bridge" (29: 1110-17) is one of his better because of slightly more interesting characterisation set up in the early part of the story. A slow scene, in which two men talk about a dog that never reappears again in the narrative, opens the tale. The author didactically informs the reader that sometimes all a hero needs in life is a chance to do a heroic deed—that the heroism in a man may be there, waiting, latent, and needs only the right circumstances to bring it to the fore. The young man in question, Argos Joe, is that phenomenon of the turn-of-the-twentieth-century, the Remittance Man, in this case "the adopted child of a foolish old aunt, who sent him a comfortable allowance which he persistently outlived" (1110). When Joe and Mr. B., the first-person narrator, hear that a near-by town is about to be devastated by a raging forest fire, they decide to attempt a risky rescue of the inhabitants. Their plan involves driving the train engine and supply car over the nearly burnt-out trestle bridges to the town. The men pit themselves against the fire, against uncontrollable elements, and narrowly succeed—not that a reader would entertain a suspicion of doubt as to their ultimate success—for this is adventure. Daring to out-run a rampage of nature is not a thing to undertake lightly, and the event changes Argos Joe's life. He has proven himself in manly combat with the elements, no small feat in a country like Canada.

Young England also published numerous stories of weather and terrain which pose life-threatening obstacles to young heroes. W.M. Elkington's "A Dash Through the Snow: A Canadian Sketch" (26: 218-21) describes the madness which comes from isolation, and the sleepiness which overcomes the person suffering from hypothermia. The only solution for saving one young man's frozen feet and the herd of starving cattle is to trail them all down to the settlement. Intense cold and extreme distance once again nearly defeat these young settlers who had hoped to settle ninety miles north of the Qu'Apelle Valley. Through their own dogged persistence and the faithfulness of a friend, they are able to withstand the double onslaught of the weather and the vast distances against their minds and their bodies. The descriptions of the countryside are grim and realistic enough to be true Canadian adventure. But the denouement is pure sentimental twaddle, for the boys suffer no damage from their frozen feet and even the broken picture of the English girl-friend is rescued.

Certainly, from time immemorial, inter-culturally, Nature has been figured as female: Mother Nature, the earth is an ovoid ball of latent fertility. By extension then, Canada, as the source of furs to clothe Europe, or the granary to feed an Empire, has been female. For example, when Rudyard Kipling penned his verses on the Canadian Preferential Tariff in 1897 entitled "Our Lady of the Snows" his reading public knew without question that the reference in the last line of each of the six stanzas which echoed the title, was to Canada. In Canadian writing, climate, weather, and topography are so frequently personified as to routinely become a major figure in the plot, not as an equivalent to the protagonist, but frequently as the antagonist—a figure to be gotten round, evaded, overcome, a figure that spurs the hero on to feats of valour and courage. Paul Zweig describes the role of the female in an adventure tale similarly:

> The adventurer is in flight from women. Because he cannot cope with the erotic and social hegemony of women, he flees them even into death . . . . [In adventure] the space of the action, its cause, its major turning points, are occasioned by women . . . . [T]he woman not only inspires the adventure hero to his bravery; she is also, perhaps principally, the adversary he needs to master. The adventure performed for the woman is also performed against her. (61-62).

But since there was no place for such roles in the periodical fiction for adolescents in the nineteenth century, the role of the feminine can primarily be experienced in this literature as a symbolic reference through Nature.

The out-door survival story uses weather/climate/topography at the crux of the matter, an obstacle expressly to be overcome, usually by physical means, but often demanding emotional stamina as well. The effort to conquer this obstacle posed by Nature or part of the terrain would then be an indicator of manliness. Should one question the gender of Nature, given this tradition? In Canadian young adult literature the climate has such a pronounced influence on those who inhabit the land mass, that its gender cannot be universally assumed.

The seasons are not uniformly of one gender. There is an extended time of Old Man Winter and his minion, Jack Frost, but there is also a compressed time of female productivity: springtime with new awakenings, of quickening things; summer-time with blooming and growing; and autumn with ripeness and fruitfulness. In a country, such as England, where each season is but one of four equal in length, the male season is a small part of the whole; in a country such as Canada, where winter comprises the time-span of at least two and often three of the equivalent European seasons, the male season assumes a dominant role and can be easily conflated with the land itself, with Nature.

In Canadian short fiction, the gender of the out-of-doors where the young protagonists must survive, cannot be assumed to be female, much less assumed to be nurturing. Winter is personified as male in "Snowed-up in Canada: The Story of a Remarkable Sleigh Ride" (*Boy's Own Paper* 5: 267). The author, W.H.S., writes: "The winter in Canada does not dally in his progress as with us, but, taking possession of his throne with dignity, holds his own with firmness. Never unexpected, if feared by some, welcomed by more, the establishment of his sway is the signal for all kinds of festivities." Ten members of a family take a sleigh to visit neighbours twenty-five miles away through the forest. Two of the group go hunting and return with a large deer, but the excursion so delays them that they are caught in a blizzard. They over-turn the sleigh for protection, and are luckily rescued at midnight by a group of fifty neighbours. But the cost must be counted in terms of frozen and frost-bitten body parts. Despite this grim acknowledgement, the tale is dedicated to a happy ending: "Frost-bite does not seriously affect the sufferer until some time has passed, so that when, after a good night's rest, we met at breakfast, nothing reigned but cheerfulness." Gendered constructions are at work here: the climate and landscape are threatening male, the house and friends are rescuing, life-sustaining female. It is not just the season that is male. The very idea of the cold, dangerous country itself suggests that Nature must be hermaphroditic, implying not a lack of gendering, but rather a duality of the gendering.

Religion, another major influence in the Canadian social tapestry, influences in the case of some authors and determines in the case of others, the outcome of the young adult short adventure fiction. As R. Gordon Kelly observes, the tales by U.S. authors seem to repose virtue more directly on the culture-bearers, the gentry class, as agents of moral arbitration, rather than attributing virtue to the value system of the common man. Similarly, religion for children in the British tales increasingly begins to be a matter of how best the young Imperialist can serve his country. But in Canadian stories, courtesy and moral principle are still frequently connected with respect for God and His commandments, with the attendant assumption that young people can be expected to make right choices based on ethical precepts. Call it naiveté, call it parochial, call it what you will, but something in the Canadian psyche responded to these basic Christian tenets for several decades after they fell out of mainstream use in Britain and the United States.

I believe the Canadian landscape played a big part in this. The wild animals, the weather, the terrain itself, are vast, unpredictable, and menacing in ways that cultures already bound to towns and cities for extensive periods of time can no longer remember. Mankind, and heroes in particular, needed a mitigating force on their side in order to combat such leviathans and come out victorious. For Canadians in the late nineteenth century, only the concept of God remained suitably enormous. Typically, adventure writers made reference infrequently to a person's relationship with deity in the tale variants dealing with history, hunting wild animals, working youths, inter-racial episodes, or the school setting; but when their stories feature the weather and terrain as antagonists, God is their best friend and ally.

Adventure writer Edward William Thomson wrote several hundred tales, most of which were published in *The Youth's Companion*. Many of them concern the terrors of nature and topography and, significantly, these tend to implicate Thomson's sense of Divine Providence. His first published story, "Petherick's Peril," which won first place in its category in the short story competition sponsored by *Youth's Companion* in 1885 (58: 161-62), is still notable for its concise prose and fast-paced action line. It opens with a story frame, as is customary with these tales: two young men employed by a cotton factory as clerk and time-keeper run along the high brick parapet for fun, racing each other in a sport that could have deadly consequences. The paymaster, Mr. Petherick sees them and recalls a horrifying adventure of his own youth. The boys implore him to tell them the tale, and he agrees to do so later in the evening at his home.

When a young boy, about their age, he goes to collect birds' eggs from ledges above the sea. When the ledge he is standing upon gives way, falling into the ocean far below, he is left with barely a foothold for the return trip. The protagonist hears the words of a scripture in his mind and "to my memory again returned the promise of the Almighty and the consciousness of His regard," a thought which comforts him. He cries, "almighty God! And hast thou deserted me?" The boy has enough courage to hope. He prays. "Face bowed to the precipice, almost forgetful for a little time of the hungry air beneath—I offered deep thanks to my God for the delivery that seemed so near." Despite his intense fear and dizziness, he is able to grasp the rope being blown by the sea winds, and gives the signal for those above to pull him to safety. "By God's aid I reached, touched, clutched, held the strong line." The entire point of this prize-winning story, then, is that in the face of imminent death, God saved his life.

Thomson's "Ordeal of Oliver James" (*Youth's Companion* 68: 402-03) tells of a young man who takes his boat out on a very hot July day to escape the heat, not realising that the water will exaggerate the temperature. He suffers partial sunstroke and drifts into a drain which fills up at high tide. The remainder of the exciting adventure tells how he pushes his canoe along until the last moment when he must either take his last gasp of air and swim underwater to the end of the culvert, or drown. The ending holds a religious turn: "Indeed," said the young fellow very solemnly, "what saved me was just the mercy of God."

Similarly, "In the Great Hardisty Marsh" (*Youth's Companion* 82: 429-30) which was among the last several stories he wrote, Thomson relates the story of two teenage boys hunting ducks in a marsh who become so lost and disoriented that even the dogs seem to be lost and finally desert. The boys do everything they can think of to effect their own rescue: they tie reeds together as markers, they stand on each other's shoulders to see out, they eat raw duck twice, and in their searching they arrive at the wrong lake and have to back-track. All to no avail—when night falls they are too tired to proceed.

> These are well-reared boys. So, since they had done their best in vain for self-help, it seemed natural to them to cast themselves on God. They prayed silently. Somehow each knew that the other was with him before the Almighty . . . . It seemed very strange to them both to be praying aloud, only two gathered together in darkness, amid reeds sighing so mournfully all about. They ceased to feel desperate or even excited or anxious. A mysterious peace came into their hearts. They had striven and failed. No more could they do.

> They were resigned. They knew they must soon sink down into the cold shallows. (430)

This story was written in 1908, nearly at the end of Thomson's writing career. Perhaps it is significant that the peace which comes as a result of their prayers is that of resignation to death rather than the hope for help which characterised the prayers of the youth in "Pickering's Peril" written in 1885, twenty three years earlier, at the beginning of Thomson's writing career. Nevertheless, the tale ends with rescue, not with death.

The Reverend W.H. Withrow, a native Canadian, also makes reference to religious values in his story "Fighting the Flames: A Forest Fire in Canada" (*Boy's Own Paper* 7: 819). His tale opens with an historical frame telling of the biggest fire in New Brunswick history which occurred in 1825 and burned sixty miles from Miramichi to the Bay of Chaleurs. The author's own experience, however, is with a New Brunswick forest fire involving the north shore of Lake Huron and islands close by. Withrow's account uses Biblical language, cadence, and imagery throughout, including a quotation from the Fifth Angel of the Apocalypse. Many farmers stay behind to plough fire guards, and when the wind from the fire blows away their escape boat, they seek refuge in a cave at the water's edge. The men pray and recite scripture while incarcerated, and when it is all over they discover both the Perkins barn and the village to be saved. The narrator's voice intrudes at the conclusion of the tale: "By a special providence, as it seemed to these simple-minded men, unversed in the sceptical objections to the efficacy of prayer, the wind had veered so as to blow the flames away from the village. This they devoutly attributed to their prayers in the cave. That night a copious rain fell, and further danger was averted."

Perhaps the biggest difference between these stories and those currently being written for young adults is the author's apparent freedom to write using scriptural allusion, and the assumption that prayer is a familiar process to the reader. Both these actions speak to the preference the adult culture had in the nineteenth century that children and young adults be taught that a personal God can at times play an integral part in the life of an individual. It is difficult to imagine a current writer having any similar expectation for the spiritual sympathies of readers. This aspect of the adventure fiction, of course, generously fulfils *The Youth's Companion*'s mandate for moral responsibility in the tales delivered to its youthful readership.

E.W. Thomson's writing is uneven in quality: some of it is banal, occasionally it is redundant, and from time to time it is trite. But for the most part his tales are highly readable, and on occasion even compelling. He demonstrates in "Pickering's Pool" (*Youth's Companion* 64: 97) his ability to construct extraordinary effects. Published in newspaper format, the first column of the story describes the Nepigon River in active verbs: "leap," "hurries," "whirled," "sweeps," "broadens," "learned," "survived," "netted," "broods," "yearns," "invented," "paddled," "hears," "sees," "watches," "pours." In addition, his visual images all cue to action: "clash of Nepigon's cascades," "watches his flies of fancy whirled away in bubbles on the edge of its torrents," "in thought goes hurtling along with its incessant and furious forces to the peace of the mighty Lake . . . ," or "trout are ever flashing up and falling back with a splash that you cannot hear above the roar." And action continues to be a paramount concern as Thomson's narrator efficiently sets up his frame in three sentences, the last two of which read: "I will not attempt to render more than a few of the peculiarities of his diction. The story is the main thing." Here we have the adventure writer's priorities set out: reading dialect for characterisation is tedious, whereas the plot is what matters. Action is the all-important ingredient.

Similarly, Norman Duncan can be counted on for a rousing adventure tale. Many are set in Newfoundland and points northward, and most involve the sea: fishing, sealing, whaling, and every imaginable occupation in a boat. Repeatedly his tales focus on the dangerous aspects of weather and terrain, with action involving the water, ice and ice bergs, fog, blizzards, snow, and tides. (Even his one tale set in the exotic location of southern Palestine occurs late on a black and windy night—"The Carpet of Ali Hassan" *Youth's Companion* 84: 193-94.) But Duncan seems to be caught between editorial and artistic demands. On the one hand is his realistic descriptions of the work done by the men and boys on the ships, or on the ice, or in the sea, the naturalistic violence of the forces of nature which they must routinely combat. On the other hand is his apparent obligation to supply patently stereotypical characterisations which follow in the mode of the manly young Imperialist.

The driving force behind Duncan's story "Her Majesty's Mail" (*Youth's Companion* 80: 37-38) is the concept of a man's honour. Mailman Arch Butt thinks nothing of making his weekly eighty mile round-trip with Her Majesty's mail: "It may be that he tramped a league, skated a league, sailed a league, sculled a league, groped his way through a league of night, breasted his way through a league of wind, picked his way over a league of shifting ice." But as this tale opens, Arch's foot has been crushed in the ice, and he is obliged to find a replacement carrier. When his invitation is rejected by an elderly friend, Arch "laid his hand on the leather bag at his side. He fingered the government seal tenderly, and his eyes flashed when he looked up. "'Tis Her Majesty's mail!" he said. "Her Majesty's mail!" This touches the elderly man: "Something of the younger man's fine regard for duty communicated itself to him. There had been a time—in the days of his strength—when he, too, would have thought of duty before danger." Though he is too old to make the trip, he sends his son Paul to do the job. The way is treacherous over the ice, but Paul keeps his mind on the nobility of the task at hand: "Her Majesty's mail!" he muttered, echoing the thrill in the mailman's voice. "Her Majesty's mail!"

Exactly what is the emotional appeal here? What is so exciting about being a vassal to a Queen, and a dead Queen at that? Surely Duncan would have known that King Edward's reign had begun in 1901, so why the anachronism? That, we are likely never to know. But as the story continues, we can see ample evidence that the emotional appeal of the mail to Paul was linked to his sense of duty to Empire, even to heroism for the sake of Empire. The way is perilous and Paul falls through the ice. After drying his clothes by a fire he notices that the mail bag has floated to the surface and admits, "He would fail in his duty to the country if he left [the mail bag] floating there. It was an intolerable thought!" The reader is to understand that his sense of nationalism is such that the life of an individual is deemed to be less than all-important, a concept which has become completely antiquated at the end of the twentieth century. However, it is what drives Duncan's youthful mailman on. "It was the country he served! In some vague form this thought sounded in his mind, repeating itself again and again, while he swam for the ice with bag in tow."

The story ends with a complete change of setting. An old woman comes into the post office where Paul is working and asks after a letter she has hoped for three years her son would send her. It has arrived; Paul has brought it. The story ends with the narrator's apostrophe to duty: "What if Paul had left the mail-bag to soak and sink in the waters of the bay? What if he had failed in his duty to the people? How many other such letters might there not be in that bag for the mothers and fathers of the northern ports? 'Thank God,' he thought, 'that her Majesty's mail came safe the night!'" Adherence to a strict code of personal duty has given this young man his sense of honour and the assurance that his manly conduct qualifies him for a place of respect in the adult world.

However dated Duncan's Imperialistic stance may be to a current reader, his high-action plot lines recommend his tales even now, particularly the tales about the sea written with the dialect of the Newfoundlanders who populate his stories. He knew first-hand the ways of the ice-bergs, the schooners, and the storms, and when he writes of adventurers versus the weather and the terrain, there is no better story-teller. His tale of "The Schooner and the Iceberg" (*Youth's Companion* 77: 37-38) combines many of the best elements in his writing: a spine-tingling plot of man against nature, the rhythm of the Newfoundlander's dialect in sea-talk, the men's hope that God is aware of their plight, and despite this hope, their reliance on one another as well as on their own strength and ingenuity for deliverance.

> The [young] skipper knew the danger of delay. They had struck ice; the berg might overturn, some massive peak might topple over, the ship might fill and sink. But, as a matter of course, and with no thought of himself as a hero, he turned and made a groping search for the cook, until he found the poor fellow lying unconscious among his own pots and pans. Thence he carried him to the deck, and stretched him out on the fore hatch, with the foreboom and sail to protect him from the fragments of ice, which fell as in a shower each time the schooner struck the berg.
>
> Paul Snow, the third hand, a mere boy, caught the skipper by the arm in a strong grip. "We're lost!' he cried.

> The roaring wind, the hiss of the seas, the shock and wreck, the sudden, dreadful peril, had thrown the lad into a panic. The skipper perceived his distress, and acted promptly to restore him to his manhood. "Leave me free!" he shouted, with a scowl. But Snow tightened his grip on the skipper's arm, and sobbed and whined. The skipper knocked him down with a blow on the breast; then jerked him to his feet and pointed to the pump. "Pump for your life!" he commanded, knowing well that what poor Snow needed was work, of whatever kind, to give him back his courage."

Self-reliance and hard work are the basis for courage in this scene, which demonstrates a fascinating connection in Duncan's writing between the ethos of the working man and that of the Imperial-boy.

Similarly, another fascinating connection opens up between man's need for reliance on God and on his own strength:

> Still deeper in the mist it was lighter, as if the strait indeed led directly through the berg to the open sea beyond. The crew was gathered aft, breathlessly awaiting the schooner's fate, helpless to fend or aid; and the cook was lying on the roof of the cabin, where they had laid him down, revived in part, and desperately struggling to recover his senses.
>
> "Lads," said the skipper, at last, "the Lord has the schooner in His hands. They's a way through the ice. He's guidin' her into it, but whether He'll save us or not, He only knows."

But the men don't wait passively by to find out. When the schooner strikes a projection of ice, and swings sideways so that it is wedged between the ice walls, the skipper asks for help and the first to volunteer is the youth, Snow. The only boat available has been punctured by dropping ice, and with Snow to bail, the other two men heave and pull with ropes on the schooner and finally turn her forward again, just minutes before the little dory sinks from sight. The story ends happily, but with Duncan there is continual foreboding, as though the next time it might not turn out so smoothly.

Another Canadian adventure writer, Frank Lillie Pollock, set his fascination for bee-keeping aside to write about the most formidable aspects of Canadian life, the weather and the terrain. "Between Wind and Water" (*Youth's Companion* 84: 57) explains how sixteen-year-old Leonard had formerly been completely entertained by skating as a winter amusement, but that this particular winter his fascination with building an ice-boat had consumed his free time. As the winter draws to a close his time is taken up more and more by his work in his father's grist-mill grinding wheat for farmers who want to bring it in by sled while the weather remains cold. He is sent on a routine errand by ice-boat to procure empty flour sacks, but while on the way happens to see a huge explosion which bursts the dam above his father's mill. Leonard determines to out-race the water and open the gates of the dam above the mill to let the flood-waters through. When the wind goes against the ice-boat, he dons skates and in that way is able to warn the men at the mill of the impending flood. Here we have a youth's skill and physical stamina pitted against nature's strength, both wind and water. And the boy succeeds.

Forest fires are frequent in these stories of adventure in the Canadian backwoods and many are the means authors use for their character's escape. One of the most original (and the most Canadian) was devised by Frank Lillie Pollock for his adventure tale "Indian Slough" (*Youth's Companion* 86: 537). Arthur, an older teenager, is camping out in the balsam woods above the Ottawa River in order to strengthen the health of his delicate eight-year-old younger brother to whom he is devoted. With the forest ablaze all around them, their only escape route to the larger river and the steamer which runs up and down it, is through a slough which is too wet to burn. Arthur dons snow shoes to support the double weight of him and his brother and sets out. "If he could have made a bridge to safety with his own body for the child, he would have done it." The burning forest presents incredible obstacles, but Arthur meets every challenge. Carrying his brother in one arm, he swims to the steamer before it passes, and thereby saves both their lives.

By far the most numerous adventures which pit youths against Nature occur on the water, whether inland rivers or the ocean. In Norman Duncan's story "The Cure of Fear" (*Youth's Companion* 81: 421-22) young Donald has a brush with death by sea at age eight and grows fearful. Fortunately his parents are respectful of his feelings and do not force him in any way. "But he was not a coward. On the contrary, although he was circumspect in all his dealings with the sea, he never failed in his duty." Does the concept of "duty" have any current cachet? Is it an equivalent of "manliness"? Does it involve a sense of "honour"?

I believe these concepts are part of the adolescent experience within any culture, and that a longing for spiritual connections exists whether or not the story-tellers or authors of a particular society are committed to fulfilling that need. Young adults in the late twentieth century are taught duty to oneself as the first obligation of a well-grounded individual. In the late nineteenth century the cultural icons were different, and duty to others was an identifiable part of the training of a well brought-up child. Manliness and honour and duty were all bound up together in the ideal of Imperial boyhood. To be a man meant to be willing to set aside personal desires for the better good of the group, whether it be family members, work-mates, or the nation at large; to be honourable meant to understand and live by the codes of medieval chivalry as revived by Sir Walter Scott and his massive readership, duty being one of these. And underneath it all was the lingering presentiment that God, if not exactly on duty in the heavens, may nevertheless be accessible on a personal level, despite Darwin-inspired controversies to the opposite.

School Adventures

Twentieth-century readers tend to think of the nineteenth-century school story in the same terms as their own experience with public schooling, making allowances for the small buildings, and multi-grade class-rooms associated with an earlier frontier era. This image does not hold true for many of the tales in the periodicals under analysis here, for they frequently reference private boy's academies for well-to-do young men. Well may we wonder what traditions these nineteenth century school systems followed since they are now so largely out of the range of common experience.

For the most part Canadians at mid-century experienced early education in the nursery at home as did their peers in America and Britain. Home schooling with a governess tended to circumscribe the total dimensions of a girls' education, although boys were more frequently sent on to college for further training. For many children there was little real difference between home and school, for much of the nation's education happened either at home with a tutor or governess, or else in the home of a teacher or school master, or possibly in a location near-by the home such as a church or other public building.

Canadians also experienced early education in the one-room co-educational settings of rural areas. Throughout the 1840s female school teachers were only allowed to hold "dame-schools" for young children or to teach social graces to young ladies, for public education of any significance was considered a male province. But when the normal schools opened because of Ryerson's reforms, women attended in increasing numbers despite the fact that they would be paid a fraction of the male salary, and would be dismissed at marriage. (Marriage itself was far less a romantic event than a contract developed for economic reasons.)

Always involved in education, women worked to effect changes in the educational patterns so as to respond to the rapidly changing political, religious, economic and social conditions of mid-century Canada. The Education Act of 1841 helped extend schools westward and created local school boards that had the legal right to tax the public for the support of their schools. A general trend toward non-sectarian schools continued throughout the 1840s and in 1850 the School Act allowed for free common school education which was centralised and state-run. The Act also provided for the funding of public libraries, and the first normal school for the education of teachers was opened in 1851. As George L. Parker observes in *The Beginnings of the Book Trade in Canada* (1985), textbooks by Americans were notable for their "strident republican and anti-British tone . . . " (110), but there was a great number to choose from if the school had the funds to buy them. Few did.

For most Canadian youths school-stories about events in the "public" schools of Britain, or the "private" schools of North America, would seem entirely foreign to their experience. Yet, to a surprising extent, the traditions of the school-story in Canada and

America were actually formed by British authors who were writing about the public schools in England, even though the actual percentage of Britain's boys who attended them was rather small, three percent according to Jeffrey Richards (School Story 2). When such schools were copied in North America they were called "private" schools, the public schools being those supported by tax revenues from the general public. But in Britain it was the reverse: public schools were supported by the tuition of the upper classes who attended them. The poorer classes in Britain were educated by the Sunday Schools, which were supported by the various Evangelical religious denominations, until the Foster Act of 1870 brought compulsory elementary education to a broad base of Britain's society.

The British public schools of the later Victorian era were highly developed exclusive educational establishments for the upper classes, involved a boarding situation, a location a certain distance from home, and high entrance fees to protect class distinctions. Earlier versions of them in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were "self-governing boy republics, tribal, turbulent, brutal and often drunken" (Richards 2). Traditionally, they were bastions of imperialistic values, sites for the ready consumption of adventure tales. As the middle classes grew more wealthy and powerful, they increasingly demanded access to education, and they demanded a higher moral tone from their schools as well. Reforms were due. They came about as a result of the philosophy of Dr. Thomas Arnold, headmaster of Rugby beginning in 1828, and were popularised by his former pupil Thomas Hughes in the novel *Tom Brown's Schooldays* (1857). These reforms included an emphasis on sport to promote qualities of endurance and 'manliness,' religious instruction to lift the boys' thoughts, as well as uniforms, school songs, magazines, and alumni associations to give the boys a strong sense of identity.

Despite the realities, both parents and educators in Britain and North America looked up to the British public school model as the superior method for educating youth, and as a beloved tradition. It retained its position of influence until late in the nineteenth century when the crisis of the Boer War and the changing face of Imperial Britain took its toll on the efficacy attributed to the old institutions. Some authors for the U.S. periodicals wrote about the schools they had actually attended, but the formula school-story based on the exclusive "public" academies of Britain (or "private" academies in North America) was already deeply ingrained in the sub-genre.

Churches in Canada were particularly active in post-secondary education throughout the period, and they provided a strong moral and religious component to the public schools. The Roman Catholics had a ten-fold increase in the number of nuns in the last five decades of the century at a time when service to church was seen as more desirable than a life in poverty or in a bad marriage, and preferable to that social bug-a-boo, spinsterhood. The excellent education available to nuns extended the social mobility of women from lower social classes into the few fields of service open to women of the period, and provided Canada with good teachers, nurses, and social workers.[1]

Not surprisingly, as numbers of educated women increased, so did the strength of the suffragette movement, and many school teachers produced their own following of suffragettes (Woodcock 133). In 1877, the Toronto Women's Literary Club transformed itself into the first Canadian women's suffrage organisation, ten years after Confederation linked the provinces.

School stories at the time of *The Snow Drop* existed in a pre-*Tom Brown's Schooldays* (1859) era, and many read like domestic fiction with the school standing in for the home. The story "I Can Read" (I: 146) begins with a young boy in conversation with his teacher, who, we must assume, lives with the family of her pupil. In the child's enthusiasm over being able to read, he compares his future prospects with the current prosperity of his father who doesn't read and exults that he will "be richer than he [the father] is and have a much finer house than this." The female school teacher admonishes him about such pride and reminds him that his father did not have the opportunity for book learning, for in the 1820s parents did not consider it wise to waste farm boys' time with books. She further asserts that she has heard word from a passing Englishman who advised the boy's grandfather to educate his son, that if the father had had the opportunity to learn, he would have been even more clever than the son. This lesson in humility is clinched by the return of the parents from market, the father without the desired new fur cap, the mother without the desired warm new cloak, both sacrificed so that the boy's teacher could be paid and his books purchased. Stories so structured traditionally end when the child apologises for the misdeed and the parent extends forgiveness.

A number of codes come into play here. Note how the child's growth is in a psychological dimension; his new understanding is an internal change. Learning occurs, but little in the physical dimension has actually transpired, a key element in the description of domestic fiction, differentiating it from adventure fiction. Note also how the female school teacher does not speak of the father's intelligence from her own observation but offers the testimony of a person with greater credibility, the passing Englishman. In this story, being English seems equivalent to "knowing," with an implied dimension of "culture;" the femaleness of the Canadian teacher seems associated with a lesser level of both "culture" and "knowing." Apparently literacy at this economic level is directly associated with a scale of affluence, for education is perceived to be the key to economic advantage for this family.

Volume III (1849) contains a series of four letters written by a mother to her son who is away at a private boarding school operating along the lines of the English public school. "Letters to a School-boy" (III: 47, 89, 123, 137) contain advice on social and moral issues such as being truthful, keeping busy, having perseverance, handling anger constructively, praying for forgiveness, going to college, writing to her, and learning to compose letters. She promises to send a package with the requested food and personal items and admonishes him to share with his friends.

Quite clearly the two pieces refer to hopes and dreams of two different economic and social levels of society. The mother's letters indicate a significant level of affluence in the family: owning a cottage in the country, the employment of household help such as a cook and maids, travel plans for the son to friends' homes and to his grandfather's, as well as her impressive visitor from France. Clearly this son in boarding school is economically privileged compared to the son in the earlier "I Can Read" story, whose family counted their remaining money after market day on the kitchen table, and made allocations based on need. "Letters to a School-boy" refers to a career choice in the offing: apparently the son has been planning to "commence a mercantile life in one year" (139), but now has written to say he would like to continue in college. His father would like him to persevere with Spanish and French classes whether he wants to be a "scholar or a merchant," and the mother asks whether college will be the end of his goals, or whether he hopes "to make a distinguished figure in one of the learned professions."

Both these items from *The Snow Drop* are discussed in order to show how economic status determined what kind of school a child attended, and consequently what kind of living would be open to him. The mother of the son in the private boarding school writes from the perspective of domesticity regardless of the adventures her son might be experiencing; the farmer's son is shown to be readying for a life rooted in obligations to the soil and his family. At this period, poor boys determined to lead the adventurers' life could only run away from home and family to achieve this end, but they were not the "good" boys written about in gentry periodicals.

Other school-stories in *The Snow Drop* are little moral tales about the importance of doing one's own school lessons, or the humiliations of being wrongly accused and publicly shunned in order to protect a friend.[2] "The Schoolmaster of Bonchurch" (V New Series: 101-7) by Mary Bennett tells of the influence a schoolmaster on the Isle of Wight has on one of his pupils, but it is probably less a school story than a "mentor rewarded" story. The school-boy is bright, abused, and a behaviour problem for the schoolmaster. One day a ship of war takes anchor in the harbour in full view of the school, whereupon the boy runs away and is not heard of for twenty years. He returns unexpectedly, a decorated naval officer and captain of the ship of war that first gave him passage. The chances of this happening in real life approach zero, since naval rank and social class were inseparable at this time. The closing scene, immensely sentimental, in which the captain gives money to his elderly and impoverished teacher is especially disappointing since it implies the story of an adventurer, but that story is never told. What an adventure it would have been, but it was obviously unsuitable to the tastes of *The Snow Drop* editors.

Later in the century, after the turmoil of the American Civil War and the Canadian Confederation had subsided, and as North Americans acquired more disposable income, the wealthy class of merchants and professionals were able in increasing numbers to send their sons away to schools modelled on the British pattern. Somewhat later, seminaries and finishing schools where boarding was common were also established for girls, although with an enormous decrease in expectations for the academic curriculum. Consequently, when Canadian authors came to write school-stories, the British public-school boy's story remained a dominant formula for decades. As John R. Reed puts it in his Preface to *Old School Ties*, "Since the public schools were engrafted to the British Empire and the social system, particularly from the Victorian period onward, the history of the public schools is in part the history of the Empire" (xi). This code privileged the ideals of the medieval chivalric warrior: duty, honour, loyalty, and service. It endorsed the self-sacrifice inherent in celebrating the glories of warfare and the courage of colonial endeavours. From the third or fourth decade of the century onward, the schools in England increasingly became the primary bastions for the training of young imperialists who read about ideal boyhood from the adventure writers.

Boys sent away to public school were little imperialists being sent off to complete their indoctrination. "Home" would never again be anything but a pit-stop in their race from one adventure to another. It was not a place to return to after a harrowing escape; it was a place to venture out from continually. The more successful the adventurer, the less he needed "home" as a retreat. "Home" was for chumps who could not make it in the "manly" world for which the public school prepared him; "home" was a place where a "muff" went to lick his wounds while healing up from a failure. But the boy who succeeded in his quest of "manly" goals was duty-bound to further service and adventure for the sake of the Empire. The goal and the reward are one.

The number of school-stories published in the seven later periodicals under study here comprise a relatively small group of tales, approximately ten, as compared to the many scores of tales analysed in other sections. I deal with them separately because the importance of the traditional school-story forms a major contribution to late nineteenth-century adolescent literature and to the adventure genre. To try to answer why so few were published by Canadians or set in Canada raises an interesting and curious dimension to the study. It would appear that the school-story of England focused on a tiny minority of schools established for the equally small membership of a ruling elite. They were designed to produce a uniform ruling class, that is, to mold leaders for the needs of an increasingly militaristic Empire. The boys needed to learn appropriate manners, to develop a Christian tone, and to become proficient in the skills and ethics of athletics. These objectives were not directly transferable to a North American life-style at the time.

While Argyll Saxby's 1906-07 story "The Last of the Horse-thieves: A Story of North-Western Canada" (*Boy's Own Paper* 29: 204+), published in three parts, is not a school-story, I discuss it here because it demonstrates the differences a British public school education makes to the boys who complete this initiation. On another level, it is a remarkable case of the centre writing to itself in the name of the colonial Other. Jake Binnings and his cowboys are the toughest of the horse-thieves and liquor runners. The reader expects a rough-tough ranching story, but Saxby delivers a story of British school-boy ethics and language. If read by an Englishman, the story is comedy at the Westerner's expense; if read by a North American, it is satire of a type of British settler.

Jake and his band have just made fifty of the horses belonging to the two young Gilbert brothers from England their own, simply by branding them. The brothers admit their error in not branding their own horses first and observe, "I don't like to think of old St. Clair boys being beaten by uncouth Westerners. It's too much like being beaten in an exam by a cheat" (205), and they set about planning their next move. The boys' vocabulary, obviously borrowed from that of the British public schools, suggests a moral elevation the author assumes the reader will echo. The villains in the story apparently find both the vocabulary and the tone ludicrous, set against the boys' present surroundings.

Part Two opens at the ranch of the horse-thieves. A youthful British greenhorn appears in brand new clothes and gear riding a decrepit old horse, and after the requisite jeering and teasing, Jake and his gang, in the tradition of the west, give him supper. They serve up some rough jokes at the expense of the greenhorn of the Marmaduke family, but when their old Indian tracker insults the greenhorn's mother, even the hardened cowboys "uttered a slight murmur of disapproval . . ." (216). (And a twentieth-century reader wonders whom the author thinks he is kidding here.) The insult leads to fisticuffs with the greenhorn punching the tracker in the face, but Jake respects this violence as fitting, and allows it to go unchecked. The greenhorn then pretends to praise Jake on the Gilberts' behalf, but it turns out to be an insult (which Jake does not miss). In retaliation, Jake vows to steal and brand all the Gilberts' cattle within twenty-four hours. The greenhorn offers to help, and Jake accepts.

Part Three sees the youngest Gilbert brother, alias the greenhorn, help lead the Binnings and their stolen animals into a trap laid by the mounted police and the other settlers in the area. They are successful, and the neighbours gratefully donate a hundred extra horses to "the young ranchers who rid the country of the last horse-thieves that disgraced the New Land of Promise" (228). The last assertion is, of course, preposterous. Besides this, the animals being stolen changes from horses to cattle and back again, which is not a mere detail to a Westerner!

The Reverend A. Allen Brockington's school-boy story "That Beast Gainsford: A Canadian School Story" was published in three consecutive issues of *The Boy's Own Paper* in 1903 (25: 583-86+), and follows all the formulae of the British models. That the tale is allegedly situated in Montreal must be a bid for originality based on exoticism, since everything about the tale, including the protagonist and the antagonist, is British. The school-boys' names have class equivalency to Ernest from England, and he judges them to be "low Board-school names." Despite this snobbishness, Ernest makes friends and demonstrates all the necessary leadership skills. That the game of the school is hockey and not cricket is a mere temporary set back, and Ernest manages to disport himself creditably in the big play-off game. The bad-dispositioned master, Gainsford, persecutes Ernest, apparently without cause, but noble character wins out and Ernest is exonerated. The story's moral is plain: despite Gainsford's many virtues—a good teacher, a strong man, and a good player, his one flaw—a bad temper—ruins his career in two countries. This is another way of saying the Centre and the colony are one, for characteristics that are valued in one country are also valued in the other.

Canadian writer E.W. Thomson's first school-boy story, "Dux" (*Youth's Companion* 59: 525-26) follows very closely in the traditions of the English school-boy story, in which a French-Canadian Catholic poor boy attends a school for English-Canadian Protestant rich boys. As might be expected, the French-Canadian boy experiences discrimination and harassment based on class polarities and cultural differences. The plot revolves around a false accusation and, while the dichotomies are all in place, this time the stereotypes do not determine the outcome, for the poor boy's failure to win his goal (because of the hindrances of his family and cultural background) is only temporary. Thomson treats the Other sympathetically and resolves all conflict by having the prize divided up according to the needs of the rival characters: the English boy gets the medal, the French boy the prize money, and the villain a hearty cheer from his peers to bolster his low self-esteem.

The tale can be read as a gentry story in which the English boy's rigorously ethical conduct saves the French boy's life in both physical and spiritual respects, while saving the villain morally as well. The French boy is only temporarily beaten down by sickness and poverty, for the good news of receiving the scholarship has prevented his untimely death. The story, of course, being an adventure, does not really end. It begs for a sequel as the ending sets all three boys up for future events in the coming year: Etienne is on his feet again, preparing for the next round in which he will make the best of his four-year scholarship; George scores so high on his exams that he receives the medal and the position as "dux," which implies adventures for the up-coming year; and even the bully is re-socialised into appropriate demonstrations of "manly conduct" with considerable expectations for the future. This is just one chapter in the ongoing adventure saga of their lives. That we do not have the rest of the chapters does not mean we should deceive ourselves that this is anything but adventure fiction in a school-boy setting. On another level, then, this school-boy story can be seen to arise out of the same impulses that generated other adventure stories of empire.

Thomson's next school-boy story, written five years later, features all the values of the British prototypes: honour, punishments, forgiveness, the bully, the hero, a game of cricket, sportsmanship, school spirit shown for truth-telling, helping a woman in distress. But the plot and the characterisation in "The Janitor's Boy" (*Golden Days* 12: 573-74), are not part of the school-story tradition, for they turn on the matter of class differences. The conflict is between the janitor's boy, who is bright and agreeable, versus "a spoiled, boastful youth, in whose make-up the essentials of courage, conscience and veracity seemed to have been left out . . . ." The ending comes replete with confession, repentance, and a fitting moral attached. But always Thomson draws our attention to the deserving poor boy whose highly tuned ethical sense effects the rehabilitation of the bully. The British formula equated the hierarchy of class with a hierarchy of noble spirit, a pattern Thomson tends to over-turn. It functioned absolutely: if a character were shown as being poor or destitute, it was either because some evil had been done to the child of superior breeding (upper class) to deprive him or her of former rank and status, or the expectation followed that the child would have blunted sensibilites and moral acumen in accordance with his plebeian birth. But this formula is not part of Thomson's view.

Mimicry of the Centre continues to be the case in the school-boy stories of other Canadian writers as well. J. Macdonald Oxley, for one, uses no innovations on the formula in his tale "A Pillow-Slip Full of Apples" (*Golden Days* 11: 493-94). The story sets out with an intriguing scene of the school-boys initiating their fellows into a secret society which uses sixteenth-century Early Modern English. The narrator sets up the spooky atmosphere only to intrude his own voice, full of smug amusement, which smashes the effect entirely. After various stock school-boy escapades, the resolution is based on the boy who is caught stealing apples from the squire's orchard being the same one who saved the squire's grandson from drowning. Consequently the squire capitulates and allows all school-boys into his orchard for down-apples on Saturday afternoons, making Charlie a school-hero. Nothing original here, no new insights, just a strong desire to be one with the Centre, where issues of ethics, morality, and honour have already been established.

More familiar to most twentieth-century readers are the school-stories set in co-educational, multi-class public schools in Canada or U.S. such as C.A. Stephens' only contribution to the periodicals. The title of the tale, "Nepigon" (*Youth's Companion* 64: 427+), which appeared in six instalments in 1891, refers to a river on the north shore of Lake Superior which forms the head-waters of the St. Lawrence River. A school room of children in Ontario decide to enter a story in the competition sponsored by a children's periodical which offers substantial prize-money.

The teachers of the little school prefer the titles of Professor William and Teacher Sarah, although no mention is made of differences in their education which might suggest the reason for the discrepancy in the equivalency of their title. Girls were traditionally given an inferior school curriculum, but the story itself does not clarify the issue. School closes for the summer, and the next fall when the children learn they have won the prize of $250, they decide to use it for an extended field trip the following summer. Camping, fishing, and exploring the mineralogy of the Thunder Bay area are the main interests of the next five instalments, which also include adventures with Indians and wild animals. The situations are stock, the characters undifferentiated, and the brother/sister teachers act *in loco parentis*.

E.W. Thomson's protagonist in "Idle Ike" (*Golden Days* 14: 620-22) is a fourteen-year-old boy who does not like school; instead, he loves to draw animals and nature. The parents of the boy see that he has need of a good education, but a different one from what is routinely administered to youths. Ike thrives under the various non-typical situations they devise, and he becomes a fine artist. The story is far from Thomson's best, but mentioned here because it involves schooling and the departures from the norm which are acceptable by affluent parents in Canada and the United States.

Another of his tales published the same year, "Two Boys' Ways" (*Golden Days* 14: 668), is a school-boy story only for the first section in which Thomson sets up patterns of behaviour in the two boys already visible in the school setting. When carried on into the adult world, the same behaviours have disastrous results for one of the boys. The last third of the tale shows how the imperilled boy corrects his fault while out in the wide-world and returns to make something of himself after all. The story is made up of the traditional do's and don'ts taught in school-boy stories, even though the setting is in a real-life public school.

The school story received no innovations nor even embellishments at the hands of Canadian authors, or authors who wrote about Canada and Canadians. Why this is so seems both curious and inevitable: curious because Canada is a country with a traditionally high literacy rate; inevitable because a school-house is no match for the enormities of nature and the lure of wild animals in capturing youths' imaginations. School stories may be a well-established part of the adventure-genre in England because of class-based school loyalties, but they are certainly less than influential in the development of the Canadian short fiction adventure genre.

NOTES

[1] Women of social and economic privilege who demonstrated exceptional aptitude were occasionally allowed into professional ranks, but those who tried to rise on their own merits tended to encounter discrimination by both the male faculty and the male student body. Nevertheless, in 1875 New Brunswick's Mount Allison University granted a degree to Grace Annie Lockhart, and became the first university in the British empire to award a degree to a woman.

[2] Occasionally they are actually anti-educational. For example, "Knowledge" (V N.S.: 183) praises common sense over book-learning: "A few books, together with experience, are better than many. The greatest men have not been book-men. Washington was not a great reader. It is from a few practical truths, experience and reflection, that much knowledge is to be gained." This entry suggests three problems: (1) aphoristic writing tends to employ evasions in logic; (2) today's reader may recognise a very different view of learning; (3) on an entirely practical level, one wonders why the editor of a children's magazine would use material which throws into question the value of reading and literature for youths, as "filler" between articles.

Chapter VII

Animal Adventurers

The animal tale is ubiquitous, and yet critics beginning with Lionel Stevenson in 1926 credit Canadians with having developed a distinct genre (163), internationally marketable by the turn of the twentieth century. The authors who observed wildlife in the woods and streams of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Canada inherited a substantial tradition of animal lore which had been lent recent credibility by the work of both professional scientists and amateur enthusiasts of Natural History on both sides of the Atlantic.

What criteria identify the realistic animal tale which first put Canadian authors on the map of world literature? First, it must have an individuated animal for a protagonist, distinctive from all others in its class, so that actual individualised behaviour is observable. Second, it must be written from the animal's point of view. And third, enough conflict must be present that a resolution is possible and the animal must actively take part in that denouement. Until now, the realistic animal tale has not been critically analysed as part of the adventure genre but, as we shall see, the structure remains identical to that of other types of adventure we have already encountered.

Critics such as Sheila Egoff and Judith Saltman find that realistic/naturalistic animal stories "taken as a group, present a rather static composite picture. . . . it is difficult to see how there can be any dramatic changes or developments in the genre" (101-2). Similarly, Michelle Gadpaille in *The Canadian Short Story* (1988) notes that the animal story as Charles G.D. Roberts and Ernest Thompson Seton invented it "appears to be something of a dead-end in the march of fiction towards modernism" (4). Perhaps both critics take their cue from Roberts himself. In "The Animal Story" which introduces *The Kindred of the Wild* (1900), a collection of animal stories for the adult audience, he writes: "it seems to me fairly safe to say that this evolution is not likely to go beyond the point to which it has been carried to-day . . . . There would seem to be no further evolution possible, unless based upon a hypothesis that animals have souls. As souls are apt to elude exact observation, to forecast any such development would seem to be at best merely fanciful" (28). His sarcasm would indicate that his own mind is firmly decided on the matter and assumes the reader's will be as well. Notably, his concept of morality and evolution differs from Seton's belief that morality is a basic law of nature, a discussion reserved for later in this chapter.

These authors' laments for the future of the animal tale seem premature to me. For one thing, there is no telling what an inventive mind can imagine. For another, when the animal tale is seen as a type of adventure story, possibilities for further development open up. The shift from focusing on the alleged feelings and reasoned doings of an animal, to a study of power relations and plot development would rescue the animal tale from the threat of maudlin anthropomorphism. The individuation required for an animal to be a true protagonist would eliminate sentimentality, yet would allow a sympathetic connection to develop from the reader to the animal-hero.

The realistic animal tales written by Canadians in the later decades of the nineteenth century were conceived of as adult fiction and were published extensively in the periodicals for adults. From time to time authors would make a collection of a number of these stories and reissue them in a hard-back edition, again principally for sale to the adult market. Charles G.D. Roberts' books of collected stories are still well-known: *The Kindred of the Wild* (1902); *Kings in Exile* (1909); *More Kindred of the Wild* (1911), to mention a very few. Terry Whalen's entry in *Biographical Guide to Canadian Novelists* (1980) says he wrote "five volumes of stories for young adults, nineteen volumes of original short stories, and five selections of stories" (67). Similarly, Ernest Thompson Seton's three books of collected animal stories: *Wild Animals I Have Known* (1898), *Lives of the Hunted* (1901), and *Animal Heroes* (1905) were all primarily directed toward the adult reader. Ironically, as has been pointed out by others, it seems that despite their intended audience, these stories have been preserved to our day because they reached the imagination of successive generations of children and in doing so, kept alive interest in the realistic animal adventure.

From the fables in early Greece by Aesop to the medieval bestiaries, various sorts of animal stories were popular among all classes, but the trajectory of the animal tale in the nineteenth century from an allegory of human deeds, to adorable children in furry animal costume, to the observation of real animals in backwoods Canada was not of the "onward and upward" kind. Instead, multiple ways of viewing animals have coexisted throughout the literature of the nineteenth-century, reflecting a diversity of cultural values and ethical impulses. This, despite the influence of such practitioners as Charles G.D. Roberts, who states unequivocally in "The Animal Story" that with him and others of his generation, the current development of the animal story "may be regarded as a culmination" (15). Roberts and many other scholars of animal tales tend to jump into the abyss in their efforts to connect the disparate elements of the animal tale into one long explanation of growth and development.

On the contrary, the various elements of narrative, characterisation, and emplotment found in diverse traditions of animal tales may be representative of a specific culture without forming any sort of Darwinian progression as a whole. As Michael Banton observes in *Racial Theories*, in the early years of the nineteenth century, it was widely thought that "the higher forms had to pass through the earlier phases of evolution before reaching their own stage. None of the earlier stages could be left out. Ontogeny, by which is meant the life history of an individual, had to repeat phylogeny, that is, the evolutionary history which had produced the species to which the individual belonged" (18). A consequence of this thinking is the need to show how the animal story "developed," as though it happened in a biological way. Actually, the belief that ontogeny recapitulates phylogeny was argued from at least the 1820s onward. A frequently encountered error at the end of the twentieth century is the tendency to attribute all such thinking to Darwin who, in fact, can more accurately be thought of in terms of his ability to synthesise current trends and theories into a more or less cohesive canon, as mentioned in Chapter Three above.

Beryl Rowland falls into another common trap in her "Introduction" to *Animals with Human Faces: A Guide to Animal Symbolism* (1973). Her first paragraph begins: "Today we realize that animals behave very much as we do, probably for very similar reasons. They, like us, are interested in acquiring territory and status. Primitive Man also thought that animals resembled him, but he did not know what motivated them. He saw them as exemplifying human traits which he either admired, feared, or disliked" (1). The concept "Primitive Man," once invoked, takes the author on in its own flow of suppositions and associations until she makes a jump to the human worship of animals on the basis that they "seemed divine" (xv). Whatever "Primitive Man" might turn out to be in the next centuries, one can question on what basis the animal can be proven to have held actual powers of divinity for these persons, rather than semiotically embodying an abstraction or metaphor of power which is attributed to a deity in animal guise. The issue seems always to hover around "power:" who has the greatest power is always the issue in the adventure genre. Elemental naïveté as well as many other conditioned responses to what is considered "primitive" are now widely recognised as the xenophobic responses of an intruder.

The animal as deity metaphor, then, is an ancient narrative. Basic to Mary Douglas' point of view is the concept that "Metaphors are no more natural phenomena than anomalies . . . [for] in situations where there are no guarantees against subjective recognition of similarity, the searcher will always find what he seeks" (27-8). The animal In a fable, the recognition of similarities between the flaws or idiosyncrasies of man and the characteristics of the animal results in a moral conclusion. Such parallels create metaphors, necessarily artificial (constructed by "art" rather than derived from a biological reality) and therefore entirely fluid, following the cultural prescriptions of the author in the absence of metaphorical necessity. Speaking of the animal tale in Medieval Europe, Paul Wackers observes: "What first strikes the eye when taking a closer look at the subjects in animal stories is that they are not independent in themselves, but always presuppose something they depict in a distorted way" (209). Louis Marin's essay, "The 'Aesop' Fable-Animal," similarly notes the lack of easy equivalency between the animal of the fable and the animal of the real woods. "Within the fable, the animal is the simulation of a symbolic regression to the instinctual: the fiction of an origin of discourse in Eros and in destruction, one whose function is to rob the masters of their power of discourse" (34). The parallels in these two approaches reside in the recognition that animal tales are always something "other than," at point of origin.

In attempting to outline cultural attitudes expressed in animal tales, Jawahorlal Handoo states in her essay "Cultural Attitudes to Birds and Animals in Folklore" that the "attitudes of human societies towards animals or birds in the real world are inverted in folklore." In the real world animals which are small and weak experience defeat, while the large and strong gain victory. As used in folklore, the symbolic pattern is reversed so that the small and weak achieve wisdom and victory; the large and strong are unwise and experience defeat (38-41). Cultural historians tend to read these inversions from the point of view of the peasant who is small or weak in relationship to the strength and power of the over-lord. Aesop's tales have provided the model for much of the production of animal tales to the present, and in at least one important respect, the Aesop fables coincide directly with the folk tale fable. As Louis Marin states: "It might well be that the "fable" in general, the narrative of the weak and of the marginal is—in the element of the discourse itself—a device for the displacing and turning back, by the weakest, of the force of the discourse of the strongest" (339). In both, the voice of the slave, the weak, the dispossessed is also the voice of the eventual victor. This quality is present in the woodcuts which illustrate the Bestiaries of the Middle Ages, collections in which the ordinary and the fabulous appear side by side.

Animals have been attributed a metaphorical equivalency with mankind historically because in the past animals have been viewed as capable of moral agency by all classes of society. Harriet Ritvo explores the subject in some depth and finds that animals from earliest times in England were given legal status and were liable to sentencing by a judge in ways similar to man. She states that "the earliest recorded laws in Britain implicitly invested animals with human rights and responsibilities" and that animals were tacitly accepted as court witnesses both against and on behalf of humans for several centuries (*Animal Estate* 1). To many people in nineteenth-century England, animals were considered merely property to be owned and the owners themselves were responsible for the actions they allowed their animals, a development arising from rational scientific enterprises in the Age of Enlightenment.

Nevertheless, despite the eighteenth century advances in natural history, the folk traditions of animal culpability continued on through the nineteenth century in the writings of the simple as well as the educated. James Hogg, the Ettrick Shepherd poet of Scotland, at the turn of the nineteenth century writes in *The Shepherd's Calendar* that the sheep-dog belonging to a sheep-stealing criminal was also culpable:

> I cannot mention names, for the sake of families that still remain in the country; but there have been sundry men executed, who belonged to this quarter of the realm, for that heinous crime [sheep-stealing], in my own time; and others have absconded, just in time to save their necks. There was not one of these to whom I allude who did not acknowledge his dog to be the greatest offender. (425)

As late as 1898, the highly educated American, Edward Payson Evans, advocated this position in his book, *Evolutional Ethics and Animal Psychology*. When we read, "Still more interesting and inexplicable from a psychological point of view is the fact that not only rude tribes, but also highly civilized pagan and Christian nations have treated animals, otherwise deemed irrational, as though they were responsible for their actions, by placing them on a footing of equality with human beings as malefactors" (12), we could possibly assume that he is scoffing at the notion of moral accountability in animals. This is far from the case. Mr. Evans reasons that if animals can be held accountable before law for their deeds toward man, they should also be legally protected from man's deeds toward them, a way of promoting the humane treatment of animals. His opinion on animal culpability is much the same as Hogg's had been earlier in the century, and the early jurists before that. Evans continues:

> As we have already seen, the impulses and motives which lead to the commission of crime are essentially the same in beasts and in man, and students of penal jurisprudence are just beginning to learn that the psychology of criminality in civilized society can never be fully understood except by a careful scientific study of it not only in savages, but also in the lower animals. The incentives to deeds of violence are pretty much the same in both. (236)

Evans expanded this idea eight years later into a book entitled *The Criminal Prosecution and Capital Punishment of Animals* (1906). Coming as it does, in the pre-war years of the Edwardian Era, such a book might be dismissed as merely idiosyncratic and radically out of touch with the tenor of the times. However, it serves as evidence that man's view of animals does not follow a growth trajectory over time, but that most elements of this relationship are ever-present, some being more dominant than others from time to time.

The naturalists of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries struggled to see nature with detached curiosity, to put down the folk superstitions and the fancies of the bestiaries, and to exchange unenlightened information for that based on scientific methods of observation and classification. The Linnaean hierarchical classification system which uses two Latin names to describe the natural world, the first for the genus and the second for the species, was developed in 1735 and came to be used almost exclusively in England by the 1760s. The study of Natural History by the middle of the eighteenth century came more and more to be a middle-class pursuit as this population segment grew in affluence and influence. Both meant an increase in time for leisure activities and in the disposable income necessary to fund the interest. During this era, Natural History also increasingly became a subject for women to study, and female collectors soon became a familiar equipage of the field.

Keith Thomas in *Man and the Natural World: Changing Attitudes in England 1500 -1800* (1983) suggests that the three centuries he investigates did not constitute a lock-step advancement process from simplistic folk-beliefs, for example, to sophisticated scientific detachment. Instead, he discovers odd juxtapositions and mixtures throughout:

> Although the naturalists were coming to discard many of the anthropomorphic assumptions of the past, it was hard for others to stop seeing the natural world as a reflection of themselves. Even as the older view was driven out by the scientists, it began to creep back in the form of pathetic fallacy of the romantic poets and travellers, for whom nature served as a mirror to their own moods and emotions. To understand that

> the natural world was autonomous, only to be understood in non-human terms, was still an almost impossible lesson to grasp. (91)

What Thomas does not consider is whether it is possible to address any subject in non-human terms, since human language and thought are necessarily the basis for our encounters with the physical universe. If some other encounter were possible, could man even recognise it, much less make sense of it? Unlikely. Given our straddling position between an anthropomorphic personal world, and an intellectual one in which the plant, animal, and mineral world exist as creations distinct and independent from man, we may well ask whether the Canadian authors of realistic and naturalistic animal stories at the turn of the twentieth century may have explored this separation to the extent of human possibility.

It was certainly no new idea. After all, natural history from Aristotle onward posited that the natural world is not dependent on human will or intervention. Similarly, many writers among the Cynics, Sceptics, and Epicureans thought that man was not the centre of the universe. Therefore, I disagree with Keith Thomas that "the view that the world does not exist for man alone can be fairly regarded as one of the great revolutions in modern Western thought . . ." (166). The Bible teaches that the animal and plant kingdoms are under the dominion of mankind, and Christianity affirms that the universe was created for the purposes of man. But the adherence of specific cultures to these teachings waxes and wanes to such an extent that no consistent movement constituting a process of growth of the idea exists from early times through the nineteenth century. The beliefs of the naturalists, the creationists, and the deists existed alongside one another; the religions, philosophies, and superstitions inherited from ancient cultures and folk traditions continued throughout the nineteenth century.

The unique structure of a fable is distinct from that of the animal adventure story, which is more varied and plot-driven. While only Native fables can be indigenous to Canada, derivatives of European mold have shaped nursery fare since European contact. Those specimens contained in the mid-century children's periodical *The Snow Drop* tell us the ways in which basic premises of life were imported into Canadian culture. For example, superficially "The Sleigh Bells; or Helping Others, Helps Ourselves: A Fable" (I: 22) tells the reader of a peevish cab horse who complains to his harness bell about the noise it is making. Thereupon, the horse is mortally wounded by another horse without a warning bell, and the story ends with the line, "The two horses struck each other violently, and both were so much injured, they had to be knocked on the head by their owners."

This rather harsh realism is not a tone that pervades the middle class mentality of *The Snow Drop*; in fact, it is in sharp contrast to the tenor of the periodical. But it is one associated with the fable mode, and it is true to a certain element in the cultural reality of this period of Canadian life. Prescriptions of genre, therefore, may at times take precedence over the dictates of audience and yet still be an accurate reflection of what the childish audience is being protected from and taught against.

Specifically, then, one of the difficulties about adapting a fable form from one age group to another and from one century to another is the matter of the moral addendum. A brief fable, "The Horse and the Stag" (II New Series: 74), concludes with a ponderous moral about lying, mutual kindness, and the balance between the strong and the weak. In reality, these issues were not even present in the fable. A more suitable moral would have been: "Don't league yourself with an ally who will then dominate you in perpetuity." Younger children may have been baffled, but the older juvenile would have understood.

Another difficulty lies in adapting a fable from one religious context to another. "The History of a Favourite Dog" opens with a moral heralding the coming story: "There is a degree of sorrow which we may feel for any dumb creature, which is perfectly natural, but when this is exceeded, when we see people mourning for a favourite [pet], as if it were a human being, this grief becomes sinful" (II: 105). But the story to come does not centre on the owner's grief at all, as this stern old Puritan opening in the James Janeway tradition would suggest; instead, it is a rather gentle narrative about the way in which a Scotsman acquired his dog, and the dog's subsequent endearing antics before its untimely death by poison.

Similarly, moving between values associated with one culture and those of that culture transplanted to North America presents another difficulty. "The Lark and Her Young Ones: A Fable" (II New Series: 121) states the moral thus: "If you wish to be trusted, or to succeed in your designs, never rely on others for that which you can do yourself." Trust is never at issue in the tale, although the issue of success through self-sufficiency certainly is. The farmer and his son could have been equally interested in the sociality of a harvest bee—in fact, most likely were, if this were a North American fable. But it appears to be constructed for the British audience out of the American cultural experience, and then exported back to North America via a Canadian children's periodical. The moral has been distorted. More accurate, given the tale, would be: "You are the person most interested in your best interests."

The stories published in *The Snow Drop* (1847-52) and its brief-lived successor, *The Maple Leaf,* (1852-54) abound with items of interest to young students of natural history. One such, "Ancient Animals" (II New Series: 15-16), gives a synopsis of early saurus study in its description of a "megatherium" found near Buenos Ayres, South America. The author's conclusion is notably pre-Darwinian, for this mammoth sloth, as it was thought to be, is seen as a creation of divine origin; saurus remains in general are "imperishable monuments of the consummate skill with which they were constructed."

The nature of instinct is a perennially popular topic for specialists in natural history to discuss. The author of "Anecdotes of Natural History" (I: 150) observes that "The instinct of animals is so wonderful that it seems to amount to reason. The following instances of sagacity appear more like the roguish tricks of a child than the acts of unreasoning animals." Two anecdotes follow: one in which a poodle dog hides the master's whip which has been used for its punishment and then left upon a table; a second in which a sow determines how to open a sty door.

Another topic discussed in Natural History is the relative differences between wild and tame. The captured squirrel in the tale "A Tame Squirrel" (I: 80) is nursed by two mother cats in succession, and thereby becomes very tame. Affection is demonstrated on all sides: the squirrel licks the mother cat's mouth, the cat grooms the squirrel, the squirrel sits on the cat's head and frolics with her kittens. But the point of the anecdote is not buried: tameness across species is a closer bond than wild vs. tame within the same species. In other words, children are being taught that adherence to civilising laws is a greater law than those of species or kind.

A strong theme beginning to sound in children's literature of this era was the child as pure agent whose ennobling influence rescues a flawed and life-battered adult. Such a story is "Docility of the Horse" (II: 44), in which the wild horse responds to the innocence of the child with its own version of trust.

The Snow Drop's material was often lifted from books in print or from other periodicals. One such case involves the engaging stories of sheep-dogs in Scotland by British author, James Hogg (1770-1835). The original tale was collected in *The Works of the Ettrick Shepherd: Tales and Sketches Illustrative of Pastoral Life, Occupations, and Supersitition* (1865). Chapter XX of "The Shepherd's Calendar" contains about twenty stories of hard-working sheep-dogs, including several about Sirrah. A version of one of them was published as "The 'Shepherd's Dog'" in *The Snow Drop* (III N.S.: 73) and recycled in a very truncated version forty-five years later in the American *Harper's Round Table* as "Sirrah and the Lambs" (18: 1090). In each, Sirrah is the hero.

At weaning time 700 lambs bolt. Sirrah disappears and, without the help of his dog, the shepherd and his assistant are unable to find any of the flock during their search between the hours of midnight and dawn. In despair the men apprise the owner of the loss; however, on their homeward journey, they discover in a declivity between the hills the faithful dog Sirrah holding the entire flock and awaiting his master's arrival for relief of duty.

The *Snow Drop* version is initially recounted as a third-person summary based on the original first-person account of Hogg. The last half of the story switches voice in order to closely follow Hogg's first-person account; however, words are changed, added, and deleted from time to time with no indication that such is the case. When the story is reworked for *Harper's Round Table*, it may have been taken from *The Snow Drop* version rather than from the original because the story picks up from Hogg's original in precisely the same spot. The editing of the first section, however, is far more sophisticated than that done for *The Snow Drop*. The Canadian version is stylistically rough with a number of words substituted to increase reading comprehension for a North American. The later American story is essentially the same text in a more polished version. But neither of them is yet adventure.

It remains to Catherine Parr Traill, an early Canadian novelist and naturalist to deliver probably the best story in the run of the early Canadian periodical. Written for *The Snow Drop* and entitled "The True History of My Brother Tom's Dog Toby" (V New Series: 78-83), it is a reminiscence of her English childhood with a dog who is large, undisciplined, and determined. The story has humour, action, and originality, and it qualifies as a modern animal tale in having both conflict and an individuated animal hero.

The popularity of the animal tale in all its forms is uncontested. Fully 35 percent of the stories carried by *The Snow Drop* focus primarily on animals, for a total of 76 throughout its run. As we have seen, many of the stories are home-made versions of Aesop; many are natural history selections with a personal pet anecdote attached; and a few are children in furry costume or children with a beloved member of the household in an idyllic setting. Only a very few of the stories involving animals in *The Snow Drop* exhibit the beginnings of the realistic animal adventure genre which developed later in the century with Charles G.D. Roberts and Ernest Thompson Seton.

Critics traditionally credit Ernest Thompson Seton and Charles G.D. Roberts with being the two great originators of the realistic animal tale. T.D. Maclulich asserts that the animal story "began as a literary genre that sought to spread a particular scientific view of the natural world to an audience of non-scientific readers" (Animal Story 113). A comparison of the stories published in these seven juvenile magazines reveals that certain of Seton's tales involve the non-emotional kind of observations noted in natural history. Yet, when he writes of animals in the adventure genre, he is equally as anthropomorphic in his rendering of the animal personality as Roberts. Here, the commonplace critical analysis of Seton the cool naturalist and Roberts the emotional story-teller is simply not true. Martin Ware, the editor of a recent collection of Roberts' stories, *The Vagrants of the Barren and Other Stories of Charles G.D Roberts* (1992), would agree. He writes:

> Seton took considerable liberties in depicting the animal heroes in his stories. The fact that he was briefly provincial naturalist for Manitoba has misled some critics into suggesting that in his tales he was the more empirical and scientific of the two writers. A perusal of his stories gives the lie to this, and shows that a modest adherence to the minutiae of nature was not his forte. (xvi)

Seton's writings as a scientist/naturalist in the two-volume *Life-Histories of Northern Animals* (1909) became the enlarged and highly influential four-volume *Lives of Game Animals* (1925-28). These treatises would seem to disprove Ware's opinion that Seton lacked the ability to observe the minutiae of nature; however, my reading of Seton's fiction would confirm Ware's opinion that Seton was complicit with Roberts in "boldly divining individuality and burgeoning mental capacities in his animal heroes, and evolving highly dramatic plots" (xvi).

Issues surrounding authenticity of animal behaviour were nearly a constant debate at the time. Was animal behaviour determined by instinct as commonly thought, or was it based on rational thought processes in some ways similar to human psychology? Perhaps the most famous of these came to be known as the "Nature Faker" controversy and involved well-known Canadian and U.S. authors, naturalists, and even the U.S. President himself. Loren Owings' annotated bibliography *Environmental Values, 1860-1972* (1976) contains a listing of books and articles on the subject of "Nature Faking." Owings claims that the opening volley was fired by John Burroughs, himself a nature writer, in an article published in *Atlantic Monthly* in March of 1903 (91: 298-309), in which he accuses certain authors of animal stories and natural history of giving improbable, sensational, or highly sentimental actions and motivations to the animals about which they write. T. D. Maclulich summarises Burroughs' essay as a "plea for scrupulous accuracy in reporting one's observations of the natural world, and for caution in interpreting the meaning of those observations . . . . In other words, Burroughs prefers to maintain a clear-cut distinction between literary and scientific writing; he objects to animal stories because they collapse this distinction" (Animal Story 114).

According to Maclulich, of the four authors Burroughs criticises, William D. Hulbert's work is endorsed, Roberts' errors are frequently exonerated, Seton's faults are seen as more flagrant, and William J. Long is excoriated with vigour. Naturally, the three attacked authors responded in one way or another. Roberts and Seton wrote prefaces to current book collections justifying their methodology, for example, and both anxiously sought to distance themselves from Long, whose natural history contained truly astonishing claims closely related to fantasy. After this journalistic fray seemed to be past, none other than President Theodore Roosevelt raised it once again, likely in part motivated by the popular contemporary interest in the urban back-to-nature movement. Roosevelt outlined his own complaints against various nature writers in an interview conducted from the White House with Edward B. Clark, who published his essay in *Everybody's Magazine* in June 1907 (16: 770-74). Roosevelt especially targeted Long, since his works were used as texts for school children, but also included Jack London along with Roberts and Seton. The whole debate became the subject of satire by cartoonist T.E. Powers in *The New York Evening Journal* (24 May 1907) and the controversy subsided.

While Ernest Thompson Seton fuses his natural history sketches with certain elements of story, unless the sketch is developed enough to include conflict, the featured animal cannot be shown in a contest of power and wits for its very life, which is a primary ingredient of the adventure genre. The narrator for Seton's tale "Chink: The Development of a Pup" (*Youth's Companion* 75: 28-29), belongs to a detachment of military stationed near Garnet Peak in Yellowstone National Park. The opening line of this, his last tale published in a children's periodical (1901), positions the puppy-hero in much the same language as a similar adventure tale would position a boy-hero. "Chink was just old enough to think himself a very remarkable little dog; and so he was, but not in the way he fondly imagined. He was neither fierce nor dreadful, strong nor swift, but he was one of the noisiest, best-natured, silliest pups that ever chewed his master's boots to bits" (28). Note the word "imagination" in the first sentence. No kind of empirical test can prove an animal to have "imagination," yet Seton, the great naturalist, succumbs to the language of adventure and ascribes imagination to the young animal protagonist. The youthful hero imagines himself to be fierce, dreadful, strong, and swift, but the narrator wants the reader to know at the outset that he is really only noisy, good-natured, and silly. The puppy protagonist is owned by an old mountaineer who forgets all about him while on a drunken binge in the closest tavern. During his owner's absence, Chink is mercilessly teased and tormented by a local coyote. At the climax of the story, the hero, Chink, does in fact prove himself in the conflict against the coyote to have all the manly qualities of courage, loyalty, perseverance, and endurance that would describe a boy-hero.

Seton sets Chink up on one level as a lovable scamp or fool, but alternates the humour with the dog's sterling qualities so that his emergence as a faithful watch-dog is no surprise. Similarly, the coyote is at first only a tease, but when he turns on the dog and chases him all the way home, the reader realises that this coyote is a worthy opponent in the tradition of true adventure fiction. Not only is Chink's stand against the coyote fierce, it is moral as well, and while the story never approaches the bathetic, it does address the moral issue:

> The beasts feel the force of right and wrong. They know moral courage and cowardice. The moral force was all with the little, scared dog, and both animals seemed to know it. The coyote backed off, growling savagely, and vowing, in coyote fashion, to tear that dog to ribbons very soon. All the same, he didn't venture to enter the tent, as he clearly had intended doing. (28)

Seton continued to develop his belief that there was evidence of a morality in nature, which culminated in his slim book *The Natural History of the Ten Commandments* (1907). He proposes that evolution is not a nineteenth-century discovery, that the heathen philosophers had already "outlined in advance the view of modern science, that the universe is an organic whole, a thing of growth, with ceaseless upward struggle" (3). That done, he immediately launches into his theory that a higher morality exists in nature but is complicated in the animal world because the laws are unwritten and therefore observable only in the breach.

To assume that these nineteenth-century periodicals for children and young adults contain a wealth of realistic animal tales for children is to be disappointed. In all, Ernest Thompson Seton published only the five little Natural History sketches in *St. Nicholas* between the years of 1886 and 1889. Each is delightful. The first, "The Drummer on Snowshoes" (14: 414-17), opens with dialogue, which has its charming moments, between a small boy from England and his Canadian uncle, on the topic of the alarming proximity of Indians. The uncle is doubtful, and as the sketch progresses the child learns that the drumming is produced by a partridge. The next year, he published "The Pintail" (15: 826-27), which starts out rather pedantically, calling on "the older reader's informal knowledge of the subject." Near the end Seton inserts a personal anecdote about his attempt to make a chicken serve as foster-mother to hatch and raise nine pintail duck eggs, and how the project is successful until one night a predator kills them all. Interestingly, the predator is never named. Perhaps the omission indicates Seton's inclination as a naturalist to prevent condemnation toward another member of the food chain, who is, after all, merely behaving as nature has ordained.

"The Western Meadow-Lark" (16: 63-4) is told with the immediacy of a first-hand account of the glorious song of the bird during a thunderstorm on the prairies. As narrator, Seton's voice is that of a passionate lover of wild things, not the dispassionate voice of a scientist. "The Ovenbird" (17: 520-21) introduces the reader to the "teacher" call-note of the golden-crowned thrush and explains that at only certain seasons and on special occasions does the bird sing another, more glorious song. The narrator tells us that on one occasion he observed the distraught behaviour of the two parent birds as a serpent entered their nest to devour the nestlings. The author/narrator kills the snake and when he returns the next evening he hears the glorious song mentioned at the beginning of the article. The natural history sketch concludes with a wash of religious imagery: the bird's song is a vesper-hymn sung in gratitude; there is mention of home and family, and the ravages of the serpent are the ultimate evil. While there is conflict in the sketch, the story is not told from the bird's point of view, nor is the bird really even a protagonist, and therefore the story is not yet a fully developed animal tale.

In Seton's final contribution to *St. Nicholas* (1989-90) "The True Story of a Little Gray Rabbit" (17: 953-55), he creates a true animal adventure tale: the protagonist is an animal, it is written from the animal's point of view, and it has conflict with subsequent action. The plot concerns one specific rabbit who evades all the predators, from hounds, to ferret, to man, whereupon, the author intrudes to end the tale with a map of rabbit tracks showing how the clever bunny hero evaded the puppy hounds who chased him. Again, the issue is whether the rabbit's resourcefulness will prove more powerful than the predators' skill. Result? In this once case, the weak is more powerful than the strong.

Although Ernest Thompson Seton and Charles G.D. Roberts are the two dominant figures in the turn-of-the-century animal adventure story, there were also a number of other practitioners publishing in the children' periodicals under discussion, whether Canadian by birth, by adoption, or simply writing about Canada and Canadians. E.

Mansell published "The Secret of a Lynx" (*Young England* 35: 218-19) just prior to the outbreak of World War I. A male rabbit sees a pile of bleached bones and remembers back to the previous year when he saw a female lynx kill a red fox in defence of her lair and litter. Very much an attempt at the naturalistic animal tale so popular in the era, his tale has neither the authentic detail present in the work of the best writers, nor the touches of humanity which could extend an emotional connection to the reader. The theme is very cold, no more nor less than "wild animals kill one another."

Roberts demonstrates his ability to narrate a dispassionately naturalistic yet highly vigorous tale in his 1907 "A Duel in the Deep" (*The Captain* 17: 123-27). Nowhere in this fine example of his naturalistic writing is there a breath of anthropomorphism. Roberts as omniscient narrator witnesses a fight to the death between a narwhal and a polar bear brought together by the early spring salmon migration in the arctic sea. The opening scenes describe the bear's attack from the bear's point of view. Then the focus shifts to the narwhal's point of view. When the point of view again moves back to the bear, it cues the reader that the narwhal is losing the battle. The pictures by Colbron Pearce accompanying this story are truly fine, even viewed from photocopies of the periodical, itself darkened by age and hard usage. The illustrations combine the rhythm of the waves and the seas with the rhythm of the attack, and while naturalistic in details of the aggression, the composition is a fine combination of specific detail and emotional impact. Here again the issue is power, that requisite element in an adventure tale.

When Charles G.D. Roberts uses anthropomorphism in his stories, it serves a very specific purpose, for in many respects the animals in his tales are really versions of little colonists from the colonial adventure story. For example, Roberts' first story for young adults, published in 1889 and entitled "Strayed" (*Harper's Young People* 10: 606), portrays a young ox, one of a team, who works in the winter lumber camp but dreams of springtime and the wild pastures of his youth. He runs away, bests an attacking bear, but is killed by a panther. Initially, the dispassionate nature of the story-telling itself suggests realism, as though it could be read much like a natural history sketch recounting the difficulty of truly taming a creature bred in the wilds. But at the moment of the panther's fatal attack on the ox, Roberts writes "No wild beast, but his own desire, had conquered him," an entirely subjective and emotional view of the protagonist. Further, the anthropomorphism suggests the possibility of an allegorical reading in which the wilful wandering of the untamed heart can lead to disaster, even death. The last line reads: "At the same hour, league upon league back in the depths of the ancient forest, a lonely ox was lowing in his stanchions, restless, refusing to eat, grieving for the absence of his yoke-fellow." Instead of "nature red in tooth and claw," Roberts ends sentimentally with the focus on the alleged emotional life of an abandoned mate.

In the 1893 "Bear and Hawk" (*The Youth's Companion* 67: 604), Roberts endows the common hen-hawk with virtues and flaws in such a way that the bird becomes a sympathetic character. It is shy, audacious, courageous, suspicious of man, pugnacious, original, daring, and prudent. Its reputation as a coward is undeserved, for it is a creature with "an intelligent appreciation of its own powers, as well as of its weaknesses, it rarely makes mistakes . . . ." Again we have the qualities of the adventure hero attributed to the animal hero.

The narrator has been bear-hunting in New Brunswick and sees the hawk devouring a still struggling rabbit. In a passage remarkable for its naturalism, there is something about the depiction of the gore that harks back to the dime novel, the blood and thunders, the shilling shockers earlier in the century. Is naturalism, then, really a type of sensationalism hiding under the scientific guise of natural history? Does Roberts' ability to deliver the story as a fine prose stylist mitigate the actual melodrama of the above types of lurid tales? I believe the answer to both questions is "yes." Naturalism definitely has sensational elements, but an artist's job is to commute the banal to the significant.

As the story line continues, the bear comes out of the bushes and takes the hawk's prey, whereupon the hawk strikes the bear on the head. The larger female hawk tries to pick up the rabbit, but the bear grabs it and puts his foot on it. She goes for the bear's eyes "with a reckless daring even finer than that which her mate had displayed" (606). The bear kills her, and forthwith the narrator/hunter kills the bear, reasoning that he is merely avenging the male hawk's loss. No doubt this resolution would be repugnant to an adolescent reader for the implicit lie it contains: the bear was the stated object of the narrator's hunt in the first place.

In a later story, 1906, "In the Unknown Dark" (*The Youths' Companion* 80: 607), a young colt riding a scow in the river accidentally falls overboard. Roberts uses deliberately emotional language throughout: "young heart," "baby heart," "quivering heart," "his baby veins," "his heart gave a leap and seemed to stand still." We can well wonder what the author is building to with this language. It is no longer the realistic animal tale, but is it yet the colonial story? Then we read, "But the blood in his baby veins was that of mettled ancestors, and terrified though he was, and trembling, his fear did not conquer his spirit" (607), and we understand. This is the intrepid Adventurer built on the British model. Colt indeed! This is a colonial child, a symbol of civilisation and good. The wandering child-hero encounters a myriad of tests in the form of malicious forest creatures, but by far the most lethal potentially is the lynx. In heroic style the colt kicks the cat in mid-leap so that the feline "turned tail and ran away" (607). The colt survives his journey home and the ending has him dash to apparent safety as the true vanquishing hero that he is.

To bill Roberts as a monolith who "arrived at" the great Canadian Animal Tale and stayed with it to the end of his days, is inaccurate. In these children's periodicals we see Roberts experimenting, changing, adapting, and innovating. For Roberts, prose writing was the way to a living and hence ephemeral; it was not the high art to which he aspired. Ironically, his short fiction may yet be seen by critics beyond myself to be his best contribution to Canadian letters, and of higher artistic quality than his poetry. But this judgement will include an implicit judgement of adventure fiction, for this comprises not only the bulk, but also the best of Roberts' works.

Conclusions:

Cultural Contexts Filtered Through Canadian Consciousness

This dissertation has opened the discussion of young adult literature on many different levels: the kind and nature of the primary material, the various strains of criticism available, the placement of the primary documents within an historical and cultural matrix, the identification and analysis of specific aspects such as the historical, colonial, racial, and spiritual, and including such issues as the reader's age, class, and gender.

Admittedly, critics do not uniformly agree that young adult literature is different enough from children's literature to warrant consideration as a genre with specific identifying features in its own right. Its alleged recent origin, and its alleged lack of bulk form the basis of their objection. Of first importance, then, was for my dissertation to establish that the periodical short adventure fiction in the nineteenth-century periodicals was genuinely geared for the young adult audience, thus giving the genre needed historicity. Equally important was to identify the vast quantity of young adult material that actually exists which must be factored into the argument.

Canadian critic Perry Nodelman specifically relegates young adult literature to a variant of children's literature in *The Pleasures of Children's Literature* (1996): "many kinds of children's literature—including nursery rhymes and young adult novels—have their own special characteristics, provide distinct pleasures, and raise specific questions of their own" (191). Subsequently, he throws the issue open for discussion in a suggestion box that university students in a classroom setting may use to further explore the idea. He writes,

> Many people disagree with my contention above that young adult fiction is merely a subgenre of children's literature. I've been told that I ought not to have even mentioned young adult literature in this book about children's literature: As a kind of writing intended for teenagers, a group of people quite different from younger children, young adult literature is a completely different kind of writing, with its own distinctive characteristics . . . . Do the young adult novels represent a variation on the characteristics of fiction for younger children, or are they so different that we need to develop a different sense of their generic qualities? (191-92)

A point of view opposite to Nodelman's but equally as convincing sees young adult literature as a subgenre of adult literature. A former editor for U.S. young adult books, George M. Nicholson, believes that "YA fiction should be a genre in the adult sections of paperback racks as are romances, westerns, et al., rather than afterthoughts in children's sections" (Nilsen & Donelson 9). Both positions require some modifications, for the interests, needs, and abilities of young adults differ as substantially from the adult world as they do from the child's world. Young adult literature warrants consideration on its own merits as a distinct genre.

My argument in this thesis has been that young adult literature is unequivocally a separate genre. It had its origins in the periodical literature of the nineteenth century at approximately the same time that children's literature in England and the United States is said to have entered its Golden Age. I also argue that it involves a large amount of literature which circulated among a sizeable group of readers. And I further argue that the young adult literature has its ow distinctive attributes.

All the nineteenth-century periodicals under discussion here had didactic intent as well as the intent to entertain, but the three nations who published them—Britain, the U.S. and Canada—did not turn out an identical product. My discussion began with an analysis of tales from the mid-nineteenth-century Canadian publication, *The Snow Drop*, which is customarily described as a children's magazine. In fact, it contains a high percentage of material that would not interest younger children but which would clearly appeal to a teenage readership. *The Snow Drop* primarily demonstrates allegiance to past norms, the tried-and-true formulae for training youths to be responsible, productive citizens, all of which it touted as current values. Also visible in this periodical are occasional gestures toward the adventure genre which was already very popular in adult fiction. I have compared a representative sampling of these tales with those produced for the later periodicals from Britain and the U.S. *The Snow Drop* has been consistently undervalued as a barometer of social practices in young Canada, and as a source of early young adult literature. In both respects, its contribution in the field is significant when *The Snow Drop* tales are seen in juxtaposition with the adventure tales written shortly after Confederation.

Canadian authors were highly adept at combining the realism of the colonial setting with either the imperialist objectives from England or the nationalistic moralities from the United States, yet somehow they maintained their integrity. They wrote tales in harmony with the British and Americans which succeeded in including a singularly Canadian vision. This vision was of a distinct landscape forming a unique people—not that they set about to do such a thing purposely. On the contrary, the Canadians were earnest in their desire to publish widely and well aware that what they wrote must be consistent with the values of the culture at large. But the transplantation process makes all the difference, as the

Parr sisters had realised in the years just prior to the publication of *The Snow Drop*. (One can only imagine at this juncture a Canadian identity that might have been had the nation experienced semi-isolation rather than world-wide contact with many cultures through the expanding media.) While it is something of a commonplace to note the British roots for Canadian culture and the easily misinterpreted borrowings from both England and the U.S. as forming the dominant artistic mode within nineteenth-century Canada, nevertheless, I see differences emerging at many points.

The Canadian short fiction content of the young adult periodicals published from 1870 onwards presents some specific differences from what was written by either British or American authors, for it was not consistent in its allegiance to either; the British and American periodicals tended to publish quite distinctly different views of Canada during the years 1870 to 1914. Some of the dissimilarities hinge on issues of realism. Perhaps we can blame geographical distance, or perhaps we can cite its imperialist stance toward its colonies, but the British periodicals issued tales of Canada drawn with the broadest possible strokes. The British were avid naturalists, but when it came to adventure fiction, they depicted animals in the Canadian wilds so as to heighten the adventure quotient of the tales, not for accurate natural history. Views of wild animals published in the U.S. periodicals were more to be trusted, and certainly authors from both Canada and the U.S. wrote about the same animals—none of the four-footed seem to have respected the 49th parallel.

In a larger context, the animals in these Canadian hunting tales have many resemblances to the colonial Other of Imperial conquest in their voicelessness, their need to be represented, and their vulnerability in power issues. Youths armed with guns will inevitably dominate. Many tales are written using the rhetoric of the young empire-builder and frequently the tales reflect the colonialist agenda throughout. In this respect, whether published in the U.S. periodicals or in the British, the Canadian content follows very closely the patterns set by the British young adult historical adventure novelists of the time. But the contribution the Canadians made was in advancing wild animals as colonial subjects and in writing of them in ways parallel to those tales about dominated races of colour who lived elsewhere in the British Empire.

The periodicals show issues of class in stark contrast according to country of origin. The British periodicals privilege a class system based on the old traditions of family line, the revival of medieval chivalry, and the gentlemanly codes of conduct modelled by protagonists in story after story, even those with Canadian settings. Meanwhile, the American periodicals published stories containing the essential ingredients of the boy-hero of the British Empire under the guise of their own burgeoning nationalism which borrowed the aristocratic codes of manly conduct from England and turned them to its own social purposes. The American periodicals assume that children have been, and must continue to be, inured against class inequities as part of their moral upbringing, which is to ignore the huge discrepancies in economic and educational position already in existence. The Canadian content varies widely between these two positions, and some stories even attempt to contain aspects of both impulses, albeit illogically yoked together, for that was the Canadian reality as close neighbour to two such powerful nations.

Issues of race differ in the stories from the periodicals of the three countries. The British tended to view Red Indians as essentially a peep at exotica: rarely did their stories match anything to be found in real life. The Canadian writer's views tended to be closer to that of the American, for both wrote stories varying widely across the two poles from noble savage to ignoble savage, with a common salting of basic disrespect and underlying fear. As to the French Canadians, the British periodicals had nothing to say; the U.S. periodicals invariably viewed them according to the familiar century-old stereotypes which were condescending but unthreatening.

My analysis demonstrates that so much of the literature in the four American and three British periodicals involves male-dominated issues and activities because the educational systems of all three countries privileged boys' learning over that for girls in kind, quality, and extent. The cult of manliness, having so much to do with British Imperialist fervour, was not limited to the east side of the Atlantic, but its effects were reflected differently in the U.S. and in the adventure fiction produced by Canadians. The British swagger was focused on the subjection of lesser colonists throughout their world-wide Empire; the muscle flexing in the U.S. periodicals had to do with the nation's political and economic philosophy of expansionism; the Canadians were grateful just to survive their climate and topography!

The exigencies of the physical world—weather, landscape, climate, and wild animals—dominate the writing about Canada and Canadians in the periodicals from Britain and the U.S. alike. Authors were over-awed by the power of the elements and wrote of their outdoor experiences in conjunction with their deepest spiritual beliefs. When pitted against the Canadian winter, these adventurers prayed. Faith in a power greater than the colossal forces they must face daily sent the protagonist's souls in search of an ultimate source of comfort and help, creating a spiritual aspect to the Canadian content not paralleled in the more socially oriented religious overtones of the British and American content.

American authors tended to write of city life as a gigantic, inhuman machine of rampant vice as compared to country life filled with bucolic scenes of serenity, health, and industry. While some Canadian authors aped these influential value systems, their best stories were never written this way. Canadians wrote from a memory of the country-side as one of continual work and privation; whereas, town life is a place where education and economic advantages produce safety and succour. Typically these adventure tales of working-class Canadian youths involve labour and peril alongside their fathers and brothers, and even sisters and mothers.

The Canadian short fiction adventure writers created a remarkable innovation in the genre: when they did include female characters in their tales, the females were generally incorporated into the adventure aspects of the plot without gender restrictions and as full participants in the adventure. Certainly this is a realistic response of a people to a rugged and demanding landscape and climate, for to survive and to flourish in Canada in the last decades of the nineteenth century still required the skills of every person, not just those of the male members of the group. Yet while the more liberated characterisations included females as protagonists in plots filled with action, it seems as if the authors drew back from addressing what this implies—equality of the sexes—at the last the moment, for the denouements of the tales often attempted to reinscribe the female in a traditional context despite her heroic actions. Despite what hind sight so clearly shows us remained for the twentieth century to do, the Canadian content demonstrates a significant advance in feminist thought according to the standards of the day.

While some of the stories are nearly carbon copies of British or American models, the good ones have a distinct voice and perspective. Nowhere is this more evident than in the work of E. W. Thomson, whose writings range over every variant of the adventure tale as identified in this monograph. His abilities also range widely. Some tales are beautifully crafted, and others have excellent plot lines with action that continually drives the reader forward. Yet some are sketchily presented, repulsively stereotypical, or sentimentally cloying. His hunting and fishing stories are some of his best and some of his worst, but in a certain few he departed from the norms of his era to herald conservationist views which a later century would embrace wholeheartedly. In *Victorian Values* (1990), Gordon Marsden captures the paradox of the Victorian period: rather than consisting of uniform values as societal standards as formerly thought, the period is now commonly seen as a society with a kaleidoscope of attitudes. Thomson's work demonstrates that the same diversity can occur even within one individual. In all, Edward William Thomson remains a touchstone for the scores of authors who contributed to the Canadian content of these periodicals.

In comparing Roberts' fifty-some stories with Thomson's hundred or so, ostensibly using the same subject matter for the same journals, the same audience, and in the same years, many of Thomson's stories appear to be more durable than were Roberts' stories. Thomson was a highly inventive fiction writer for young adults, and this excellence is anchored to his willingness to write cross-grain to his culture to the extent that his personal experience of the world could lead him. But when he wrote from within the mainstream, his work exhibits all the flaws that the twentieth century can scornfully credit to the nineteenth. Roberts was essentially a man of his times; a vaunted Brahmin, he remains a cliché. His animal stories are, in my estimate, overrated. When Thomson writes on the same subject matter as Roberts (that is, the animal story) he is no better. But Thomson's tales of the working folk show a passion, a grittiness, and a concision that sets him apart; indeed, his ability to render his characters truly creates a depth, a moral complexity quite unparalleled in this periodical fiction.

Why, then, is Thomson so little known? Perhaps one reason is the fact that he wrote nearly exclusively for the Young Adult audience, a genre which has been trivialised throughout the last century. Both he and Roberts were men of letters, with a background rich in varied interests. Like Roberts, he also wrote poetry, some of which appeared in these four juvenile periodicals, and which he took time to collect and publish in book form for both Canadian and U.S. markets (under different titles). He also published his short stories as collections in book form, as did Roberts. Both were active in literary circles in the U.S. as well as Canada. Here the similarities end. While Thomson spent much of his energy in politics and public works, Roberts, on the other hand, concentrated his energies on his literary output, so that his works were continually before the eyes of the *literati* and reading public alike.

Another difference, and likely the most telling, may be that Roberts wrote novels for adults while Thomson never got around to this, although he hinted to Ethelwyn Wetherald that he had one in mind (McMullen 17). Few critics today would cite the novels of Roberts, written in the popular sentimental tradition of the time, (parallel in many ways to those written by the American queen of bathos herself, Mrs. E.D.E.N. Southworth [1819-1899]), as having any claim to literary excellence. But they were a claim upon the adult reader, a claim which Thomson never made.

Currently, Young Adult literature is increasingly recognised as a distinctive genre for which critical focus is long overdue. As it comes into its own, it may be that Edward W. Thomson's body of short fiction will at last garner the recognition it has so long deserved.

While the adventure genre certainly dominates the menu of periodical fare directed to the Young Adult market, a small, but not negligible, salad of other types of short fiction is to be found in the Canadian content of these periodicals. Rather than ignoring it or pretending it does not exist, I would like to examine briefly some of the material that does not follow the adventure motif.

Much of it seems to be written for the younger members of the family assumed to be part of the reading or listening audience for the periodical. J. Macdonald Oxley, a prolific Canadian author of adventure stories, published several gentle animal tales in *Harper's Young People* between 1890 and 1892, all of which would appeal to the child reader approximately age ten and younger. "Fluffy; A Waif from the Streets" (11: 838-39) may sound like a title from the pen of Hesba Stretton (doyenne of the London child Street Arab story), but in actuality it is an account of the domesticated antics of a tiny grey English sparrow that a family finds, tames, and subsequently kills by failing to provide it with grit for its digestive system.

"The Puppy, the Hen, and the Big Dog" (13: 125-26) explains how a large dog solves the difficulty of a shivering, whimpering puppy which has made its way into a hen house by gently forcing a hen to shelter it for the time being, until the resident humans take pity and invite the puppy to its proper place on the hearth.

Notable among cute bear stories is his "A Trio of True Bear Stories" (13: 366-67) which involves three different bears: one from New Brunswick, another from England, and the last from Nova Scotia. Each falls into the company of humans: one is sold to a travelling U.S. menagerie, another receives a hero's reward of a feast and a sovereign coin, and the last is rescued from sure death at the horns of an enraged bull by a barrack of soldiers. All three stories have the bear as the central focus and contain conflict, but each presents closure in the form of the domestic fiction.

These periodicals also present wolf stories that, surprisingly enough, do not conform to the adventure formula. H. Mortimer Batten's "Nara and the Lame Wolf" (*The Captain* 28: 344-50) involves a little girl and an enormous grey wolf, but despite the characters involved, it is not a true adventure story. It opens with what appears will be a conventional frame introduction, but Batten turns it into an amusing anecdote in itself, all about three miners who learn how to drive a car. The second, more extended chapter, forms a mystery tale about what happened to a missing Indian child. The parents believe that she has been devoured by a huge grey wolf, but as the story unfolds, we discover that the animal is actually a semi-domesticated, part-wolf travois dog. The bond between dog and child lures the animal home from a hunting trip whereupon it leads the child back to the hunting party. The mystery aspect is structurally superficial, and in reality Batten has written a domestic tale about a sweet urchin whose unnecessary "rescue" by a beloved pet creates the plot complication.

The frame structure, ubiquitous in these tales, is occasionally modified, for E.W. Thomson in "Grandpapa's Wolf Story" (*Youth's Companion* 65: 502-03) uses it to tell two stories at the same time. The traditional frame becomes a separate story in its own right as it comes to dominate the tale by diverting the focus away from the grandfather/narrator's actual adventure with the wolves at age seventeen and towards the elderly grandfather's gently teasing present-time relationship with his two grandchildren. A question of audience arises. Would this teasing appeal to the very young child who still loves bed-time stories, or to the teen who wants to know what happened to a seventeen-year old treed by a pack of wolves, or to the doting parent(s) who savours the humour in the grandfather's droll preamble? Clearly, the answer is "all of the above," for it was during this period that *The Youth's Companion* sought to stabilise its subscription base by widening its audience appeal. Thomson's story was thus intended to attract readers from all members of the household. Nevertheless, the grandfather's jokes and the children's frequent interjections into the story-telling do not completely obscure the traditional adventure tale at the core of this piece. The wolves howl and leap for the kill as usual, but the narrator is far enough removed from the original events to create a gentle parody of the stereotype.

Charles G. D. Roberts' collection of four animal tales for the younger age group entitled "Babes of the Wild" appeared in *St. Nicholas* in 1912-13 and forms his last publications for children before the War. In each, Uncle Andy and a young boy called The Babe have encounters with wild animals in which the realism of the animals' behaviour and responses is by far the most important aspect of the stories. "Teddy Bears' Bee-Tree" (40: 231-36) tells two parallel stories: one in which the uncle and Babe watch some rabbits playing, hear a crash of a bear falling out of a honey tree, and are shortly thereafter stung by the angry bees; the second in which a young orphaned bear braves angry bees for its own survival and succeeds.

The next story, "The Adventures of Young Grumpy" (40: 291-96), opens with another Uncle Andy and his pipe talking wood-lore to The Babe scene. The animal hero is a young woodchuck who is the product of a moderately dysfunctional family: a father woodchuck with an excessively bad disposition and a mother woodchuck who is neglectful in her job of looking after the young. At any rate, young Grumpy woodchuck wanders into The Boy's barnyard, encounters the bull-terrier and the gander, and still manages to return to his burrow unscathed.

In the third story, "The Little Furry Ones that Slide Downhill" (40: 397-401) Roberts draws us into the everyday life of an otter family. A hunter from the city arrives on the scene of the otters' slide and shoots the female: "He had a good eye, a repeating rifle, and no imagination whatever" (398). The focus turns to the child-uncle interaction:

> "And she could never come anymore," murmured the Babe, sadly.
>
> "Well, she didn't!" snorted Uncle Andy, the discourager of sentiment.

Here we see Roberts taking great pains to distance himself from sentiment, yet if he hadn't wanted some sentiment he would not have used a "family" of otters nor a "family" of uncle and nephew. Instead, perhaps, he could have chosen solitary males of different species attempting to outwit each other in a naturalistic survival of the fittest. In actuality, this is pretty well what happens next, for the orphaned otters first glare down a weasel and then a mink. The mink waits its chance and grabs the female in a life-death encounter in which the two otter cubs work together to outfight the mink. The closing scene has the mink skulking to a hollow log thinking he has been a fool (a clear case of anthropomorphism) and the otters grooming themselves in the sunshine. Nevertheless, the message to a young reader is quite clear: you can take care of yourselves in this precarious world if you think fast, use all your skills, and stick together. Here is good writing that provides an entirely palatable lesson for children of any generation.

Story number four, "The Baby and the Bear" (40: 486-90), opens with a large frame in which the child is fishing for trout on a raft moored close to shore. The raft drifts toward the white caps mid-lake, the child screams for help, and Uncle Andy paddles out in the canoe and tows the raft to shore. Uncle Andy and the pipe then tell the story of how a five-month-old bear cub and a five-year-old girl adrift on a raft are pursued by both mothers—the human and the bear. The human mother has the advantage of a canoe and a male neighbour, rescues the little girl and is about to take the bear along as a play thing for her child when the farmer notes the mother bear swimming toward her cub. The man orders the woman to leave the bear and the story ends with an all too familiar scene of well-intentioned-but-foolish woman against male-who-knows-best with just a brief nod by the farmer to feminist sentiment: "to my mind *mothers* has *rights*" (490) whether a human or a bear.

Sometimes the stories for children contain only slightly disguised class issues; in others, animals are made to bear the weight of endless moralising. We are used to animals dressed up in children's clothes and children dressed up in furry costumes, all speaking to the effect that certain specific social virtues are desirable, but the same animals also become the physical symbol of the Other, of class or racial oppression. The ravaging beast in Ella J. Fraser's story "The Dead Bear: A Christmas Adventure in Canada" (*Young England* 15: 535-37) is quite another matter from the adventure stories in which bears, despite their ferocity, are depicted as just as noble as their domesticated brethren.

Essentially, Fraser's story is neither adventure nor domestic fiction. Instead, it is a schematised depiction of class inequities in which the bear symbolises the violence which privation can wreak in a family. The sixteen-year-old son is the oldest child in this poor family of fatherless children, whose mother's health has been severely jeopardised by recent child-birth, but in their hour of want, all the children act in an upright and gracious manner. The rich squire "was so pleased with the courage and ready wit of the little family that he helped to lighten the burden which had pressed so heavily on Nat's young shoulders" during the Christmas season, but only "until the family were able to help themselves" (537).

Two panther stories by Charles G.D. Roberts were published in *St. Nicholas*, a periodical of highest artistic aims and very rigorous in setting and maintaining cultural standards for short fiction. It may be that inclusion by this magazine was based in part on their down-played adventure qualities. The first section of the 1890 tale "Chopping Him Down" (17: 928-31) is a re-written version of "Tales from the Lumber Camp: Bruin and the Cook" published earlier that year in *Youth's Companion* (63: 23). In fact, the greenhorn jokes are taken from "A Brush with Trespassers" (63: 47) in the above series.

After this recycling process is over, the first-person narrator enters the story and describes how lumberjacks love gingerbread, and what they will do to get it. The alleged greenhorn protects his gingerbread by shinnying up a tree, and discovers it to be occupied already by a panther. Down below, the lumberjacks (who don't know about the cat) blithely chop down the tree. The panther does no permanent damage to men or oxen and runs into the forest. The second story, "A Night Encounter" (*St. Nicholas* 20: 803-7), describes a situation in which a boy in a canoe sees the panther lying in wait for him at a narrow passage, and shows how he outwits the animal. In both, the panther gets away—a fate never meted out to an adventure-tale panther.

It is hard to moralise extensively in an adventure story, and it is hard to write a temperance story without a certain amount of moralising. Algernon Blackwood's "How Garnier Broke the Log-Jam: A Campfire Story" (*Boy's Own Paper* 27: 216-20) has just a little of both. Set in Lower Canada of the 1860s, the tale describes how a handsome French Canadian loses his fight with alcohol and loses his sweetheart as a result. In all respects, the tempering of the hero is done with romance, an extremely unusual addition for *The Boy's Own Paper*. We might wish for a roistering lumberjack tale, but this is not one, for the deeds and the consequences exist in stark juxtaposition.

Notwithstanding the above samplings of stories that do not fit within the variants of the adventure genre as seen in the great bulk of these nineteenth-century tales, the non-adventure portion remains an extremely small part of the whole. To Canadian authors, apparently, the terrors of weather and terrain are not to be foisted upon the very young. Similarly, they may have felt that the very young have not yet the mendacity to understand problems at school and in the family, nor are historical accounts yet in their ken. That the above tales, written for the younger group of readers from pre-school through the elementary grades to about age eleven (our present-day grade six), all involve animals should not surprise us. Animals can be dressed up or dressed down, and animals are inevitably the focus of these non-adventure tales. They are everywhere complicit with the young child as colonised subjects, a practise which does not occur in the periodical writing for young adults.

The short fiction of the nineteenth-century young adult periodicals consists of adventure tales written for the specific enjoyment of adolescents, an age defined loosely by that of the protagonists in the tales. Because adolescents in the late nineteenth century devoured this fare so eagerly, the range of their tastes prompts the critic to reconsider, re-assess, and possibly re-define. Adolescent reading can supply a previously undervalued way of seeing and reconstructing nineteenth-century Canada.

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